

North American Coalition  
for Human Rights in

# KOREA/UPDATE

Special Issue - 1987

## PEACE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

This special issue of KOREA/UPDATE is co-sponsored by the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea and the National Council of Churches of Christ-USA to introduce PEACE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA, a policy statement passed by the NCCC-USA Governing Board on November 6, 1986 (full text pp. 80-84). The policy statement is a response to a request from Korean churches for international ecumenical cooperation on the issue of reunification, which they have determined is a priority concern.

The awareness is rapidly increasing in Korea that the division of the Korean peninsula and people has caused and perpetuated the violation of the most basic of human rights. South Korean students have committed suicide by self-immolation, crying out that the United States supports the dictatorship in their land, and is keeping Korea divided forever. Though the press describes such students as "left wing radicals," in fact their cries reflect the deep feelings of a broad section of Korean society; the Korean people, north and south, share a deep longing for reunification. A sampling of such expressions can be found in Part IV herein -- "What Koreans are Saying."

This publication will begin by examining some of the basic human rights violations directly related to the division of Korea, summarized below.

### THE RIGHT OF THE KOREAN PEOPLE TO SELF-DETERMINATION

The Korean people had no voice in the initial division of their country. At the end of WWII, when Koreans were longing for independence and liberation from the humiliation and harsh exploitation they suffered under Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945), their country was arbitrarily divided by the U.S. and the

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Reprinted from 1986 Calendar  
'12 Chapters of National Art'  
produced by United People's  
Movement for Democracy and Unification

Reunification  
Oh Yun Jak, 1985



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U.S.S.R., which set up military occupations in the south and north, respectively. American occupation authorities did not speak Korean and had little understanding of the Korean people. The Korean political parties which had been formed prior to the U.S.'s arrival were rejected out of hand. Moreover, the incipient Cold-War ideological extremes of the occupying powers destroyed the middle ground, increasing tensions which led to the civil war (1950-1953). Both north and south suffered terrible loss of life and destruction, and the war ended only in a truce which left the country more completely divided than before.

THE RIGHT OF FAMILY MEMBERS  
TO BE TOGETHER

Ten million family members were separated by the division of Korea. The division is so complete that they do not even know if their parents, children, spouse or siblings on the other side are living or dead.

THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM THE FEAR  
OF WAR AND NUCLEAR HOLOCAUST

Approximately one and a half million soldiers face each other across a 155-mile line that divides the peninsula. Both sides are armed with the most modern of weapons, including the deployment of U.S. nuclear weapons in the south. An accident, a miscalculation or a foolish gesture by one side or the other could trigger a global nuclear war.

During the Korean War, the U.S. actually threatened to use nuclear weapons, just 5 years after Hiroshima and Nagasaki (p.18). Today the U.S. faces fewer constraints on the use of its nuclear weapons deployed in Korea than in Europe, where it must consult with a host of allies. Koreans, furthermore, are not free to discuss the issue of nuclear weapons deployed in their land.

Over 40,000 U.S. troops are stationed in south Korea, and the ROK/US military Joint Command is headed by a U.S. general. Each year the combined forces carry out large-scale military exercises called Team Spirit, among the largest such maneuvers in the world.

Thirty-four years after the truce, signed in 1953, there is still no peace treaty, and tensions remain high. In the north and south the other side is portrayed as the aggressor ready to attack. Citizens on both sides live in constant fear of war.

THE RIGHT TO KNOW THE TRUTH ABOUT THE  
OTHER SIDE AND THE RIGHT TO STUDY AND  
DISCUSS DIFFERENT IDEOLOGIES

The division of Korea creates hate, fear and misunderstanding incompatible with peace or stability. Each side engages in highly pitched propaganda and slanderous rhetoric about the other side. In the north, the terms of discussion about reunification are monopolized by the Korean Workers' (communist) Party. Similarly, debate on reunification issues in the south is strictly controlled by the government; any comments deemed to favor the north's proposals are regarded as anti-state and are punishable under the National Security Law. It is difficult for students to study a full range of ideologies because the government fears that such study--particularly of "leftist" thought--may result in subversion at the cost of national security. A statement by professors calls for full academic freedom in this regard (p. 25 herein).

THE RIGHT TO DISCUSS REUNIFICATION  
WITHOUT FEAR OF PUNISHMENT

The Korean Church Statement on Peace (p.53) emphasizes that discussions about unification can no longer be a monopoly of the government. A south Korean assemblyman, Yoo Sung-hwan, was imprisoned for saying "The policy of this nation should be unification rather than anti-communism"(p.25). In May 1987 the R.O.K. government threatened to prosecute opposition party leaders for the party platform statement that unification should be the supreme national goal (p.26). Thus, citizens can be punished even for remarks their government has agreed to in principle (p.29). [Readers are invited to respond to this special PEACE & REUNIFICATION issue; see back cover]

## HOW TO USE THIS BOOKLET

In order to develop a responsible foreign policy regarding Korea it is essential that the grassroots and our legislators understand the role of the U.S. in creating and perpetuating the division of Korea, the great cost of the division, the desire of the Korean people for reunification and the possibilities of new directions which will reduce tensions, build trust and allow Koreans to resolve their national question without external pressure or interference.

For private study begin by reading the two articles written by Korean Americans who were separated from their families and after four decades had the rare opportunity of being reunited with their surviving family members in north Korea. (pp. 13-16 and pp. 37-39) Then examine the rest of the materials by sections.

To present a program or extended study sessions, at least one month ahead of time choose a leadership team of eight persons. Assign one part of this booklet to each of six persons and have the other two study life in north and south Korea. (See Bruce Cumings, THE TWO KOREAS) Provide for each team member a copy of this KOREA/UPDATE and have available several copies of recommended study materials (p. 98). Determine how many hours can be set aside for this study and divide the time available so that each person will know exactly how much time is available to present their part. Allow time for discussion of questions. Consider showing a video cassette or slides taken by someone who has visited north and south Korea.

After each person on the leadership team has had an opportunity to study the materials, have a team meeting to discuss the issues and creative ways of presenting the materials. Be sure to clarify each person's responsibility. Build into your study a way to follow up with action, such as raising the issue in the local community, sending materials to your senators and representatives and joining a network for future action. (See back cover.)

### PART I HISTORY OF THE DIVISION

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TIME LINE - 100 Years of Korean Struggle for Self-Determination: Hopes for Peace and Reunification .....	5
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To use this time line in making a presentation to a group make a large time line using shelf paper twelve feet long. On a line which goes across the paper, mark 100 year segments (each one foot long) from 1880 to 1990. Write in the dates of the major events, and use the rest of the information in the time line for your group presentation.

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## PART I - HISTORY OF THE DIVISION

At the end of WWII when the Korean people were longing for liberation from Japanese colonial rule and an opportunity to control their own destiny, the nation of Korea was divided into two parts by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Koreans are a homogeneous people whose unity is deeply rooted in common language, tradition, culture and history. The unnatural, forced division of this small nation (roughly the size of Minnesota) was intolerable to Koreans north and south. Discussions ensued for unification until the division was formalized in 1948 when the East/West ideological power struggle resulted in the formation of two separate states, the Republic of Korea (ROK) in the south and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) in the north. Both sides believed the peninsula could be reunited by force, but the tragic civil war (1950-1953) ended only in a truce, leaving all of Korea in ruins and still completely divided.

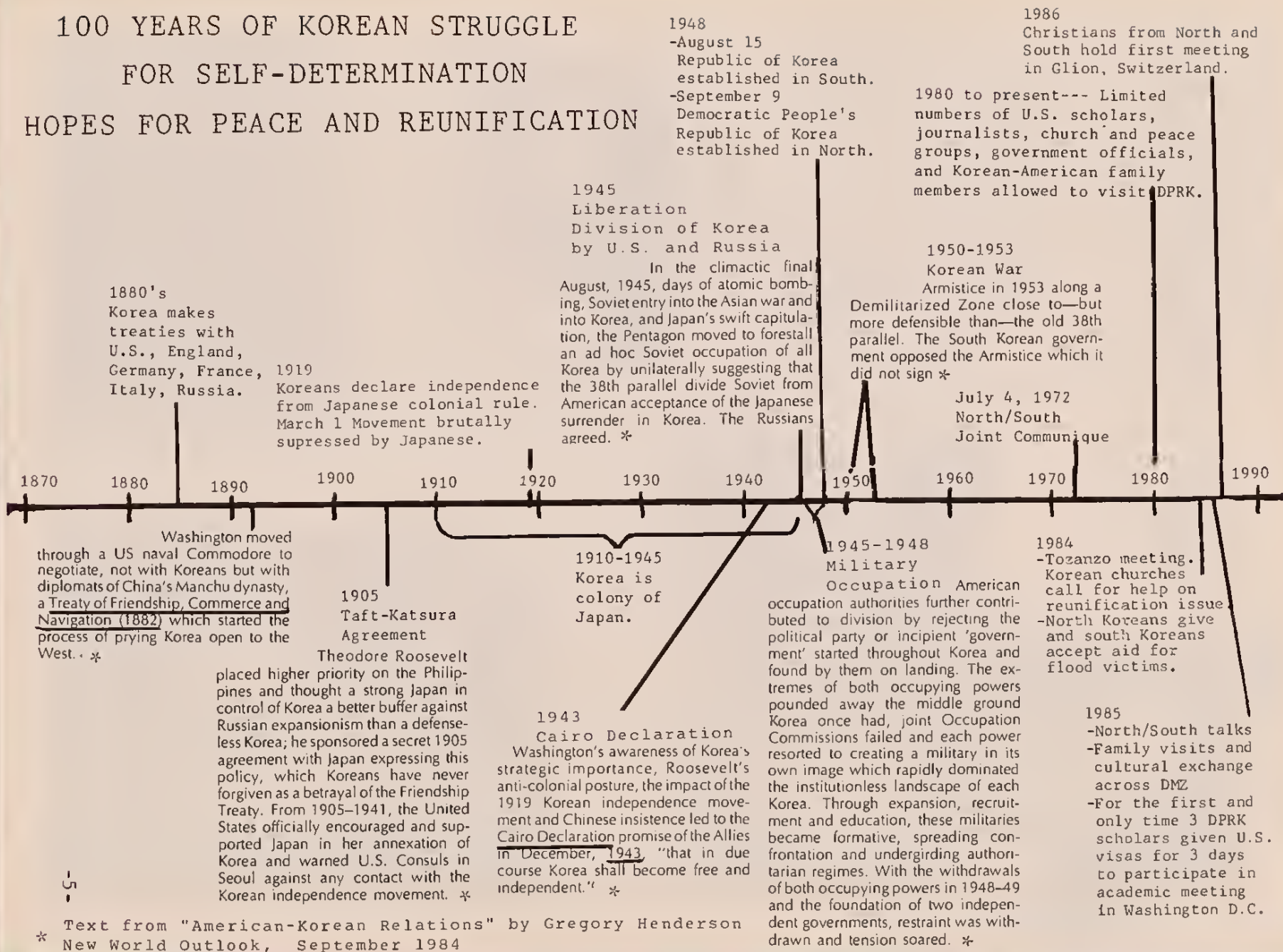
STUDY SUGGESTIONS: Read the materials in Part I and the NCCC Policy Statement (pp. 81-82). Nothing about the politics of contemporary Korea can be understood without studying the period of 1945-1953. It would be helpful to read the following:

1. THE TWO KOREAS by Bruce Cumings, Chapter 3
2. TWO KOREAS, ONE FUTURE? Foss and Sullivan Editors, Chapter 1, "The Division of Korea"
3. THE POLITICS OF THE VORTEX by Gregory Henderson, pp. 113-174.

### Discussion Questions

1. When and how was Korea divided? How did U.S. policy-makers' ignorance contribute to the tragic results? Could this have been avoided?
2. Why did so many Koreans flee to the south from 1945 until the borders were closed? Why were there so many Christians among them? Why were there so many "communists" in prison in south Korea? Why are the feelings about this period of history so intense?
3. After the communist forces were pushed back during the Korean War, why did the U.N. forces push up into north Korea? Why didn't south Korea sign the truce? What is the meaning of the banner on the capitol in Seoul which says, "Integrate North Korea Into South Korea?" (p. 6)
4. What are the differing perceptions of the division and the war held by Koreans in the north and south? Why do they see things differently?
5. What mistakes have U.S. policy-makers made in Korea? Now that Koreans are more aware of their history they are very critical of the U.S. How can the U.S. respond? What lessons should be learned?

# 100 YEARS OF KOREAN STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION HOPES FOR PEACE AND REUNIFICATION



\* Text from "American-Korean Relations" by Gregory Henderson  
New World Outlook, September 1984

# 한국화보



韓國國際報道聯盟發行  
INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY LEAGUE OF KOREA  
No. 349-3 ka, Uichiro, Seoul, Korea



The combined ceremonies for the 5th anniversary of the establishment of the Republic Government and the 8th anniversary for liberation were celebrated on the Capitol ground on August 15, 1953

## ANTI-TRUCE MOVEMENT

The disappointment and frustration of the Korean people at the cease-fire agreement reached at Panmunjom between the Allies and the Communists burst into nation-wide demonstrations throughout the country following the truce-signing. No matter how the rest of the world might look at the attitude expressed by the Koreans in this way, the bitterness of this nation,

was so great that they had to resort to such a desperate resistance against this so-called peaceful settlement. This kind of truce without the unification of the land and with millions of alien troops remaining in the heart of their country was felt by the Korean people with good reasons as a death sentence to them to be executed in no distant future.



Girl-students are marching in the street with placards bearing the statement: "We will fight to death against any truce without unification."



The students' strong opposition to the truce without unification developed into a big demonstration in the street of Pusan.

The wounded soldiers opposed to the truce without unification of the country have gone into a hunger strike lying down in front of the American Embassy.



# AMERICAN-KOREAN RELATIONS

## new world outlook

New Series Vol. XLIV No. 11 • Whole Series Vol. LXXIV No. 7 • September 1984

### Excerpts

The century of American relations with Korea has been stamped with the extremes which mark the recent history of that peninsula itself. Korea is a land not left to swing on its own tides but one drawn by the great moons of the powers around it: China, Japan, the USSR and, most recently, the United States. It is a country fated to be involved, sometimes abruptly, in the great powers' tangential ambitions and rivalries.

Korea was, in the game of broader international relations, a notorious late-starter. In the early 1880's, the peninsula state was, to the West, probably the most unknown land of any importance in the entire world, hidden behind the screen of China and its own hermit policies.

Early attempts to penetrate this screen, such as by the Scottish missionary Robert Thomas on an American ship in 1866 or a retaliatory raid by five American warships in 1871, were aggressive, illegal, ill-advised, bloody and impermanent.

To allay such religious, mercantile or military piracy, Washington moved through a U.S. naval Commodore to negotiate, not with Koreans but with diplomats of China's Manchu dynasty, a Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation (1882) which started the process of prying Korea open to the West.

### Chief Motivation Commercial

The chief professed motivation was commercial; an unknown country aroused rich hopes. But Korea, never resource rich, was exceedingly poor in commercial development and the crest of 19th-century American commercial interest in Asia had already passed. Americans nonetheless started vigorously. From 1895-1905, they built Korea's first railroad (Seoul to Incheon), first trolley line, first city lighting plant, first public water supply, first telephone system, first modern office building and first well-operated mine. Japan won out in the contest for Korea by 1905 and bought all these enterprises.

### Gregory Henderson

Gregory Henderson served as a specialist on Korea in Seoul for the US Foreign Service from 1948-50 and from 1958-63. He is the author of numerous books and articles on Korea, including "Korea: The Politics of the Vortex," Harvard University Press, 1968.

Politically, the rewards proved even less encouraging. The Korean king sought US military and diplomatic help against Chinese, Russian and, especially, Japanese encroachment. Washington displayed consistent disinterest in providing it. Except among some missionaries, Koreans then had an image of "enforced ignorance, sloth and corruption", as Yale Professor Ladd put it, and of incapacity of self-defense. Theodore Roosevelt placed higher priority on the Philippines and thought a strong Japan in control of Korea a better buffer against Russian expansionism than a defenseless Korea; he sponsored a secret 1905 agreement with Japan expressing this policy, which Koreans have never forgiven as a betrayal of the Friendship Treaty. From 1905-1941, the United States officially encouraged and supported Japan in her annexation of Korea and warned U.S. Consuls in Seoul against any contact with the Korean independence movement.

### The Growing Role of Religion

Religion ranked a poor third in the minds of the 1882 Treaty framers, after trade and international politics, but came from behind as the stand-out success. The ambitious Ohio missionary doctor, Horace Allen, arriving in September, 1884, had the good luck to be able to save the life of a relative of the Queen that December and used ensuing royal support to open a "royal hospital" in April, 1885, with authorization the next year for a medical and scientific school. Ostensibly to staff these, the first Presbyterian and Meth-



Here U.S. troops face North Korean soldiers at Panmunjom during a meeting of armistice officials.

odist missionaries soon arrived, followed by others.

From 1887 on, the missionary flow greatly increased; the first church was founded and conversions gradually made. American missionaries achieved the lasting accomplishments of founding the first modern Korean educational and medical institutions, training the first women and the first poor. After the Japanese victory over China in 1895, an explosion of churches commenced and, in 1900, the translation of the New Testament into Korean was completed. Suddenly, as the Korean government further disintegrated and the Japanese started full-scale takeover of Korea, Christianity took fire throughout a peninsula disillusioned with its own weakness. Starting in Pyong'an province in the northwest, conversions leaped into the thousands, churches proliferated and Korea became known as the most promising of all mission opportunities. As opposition to Japanese control grew, it was in the Protestant, mostly American Presbyterian, churches that it crystallized. Sixteen of the thirty-three signers of Korea's 1919 Declaration of Independence were Protestants, mostly Presbyterian pastors. Christian churches grew as the only institutions within Korea where people felt a sense of refuge from ubiquitous Japanese control. Until World War II chased missionaries home and closed many churches, there were over 300,000 Korean Protestants and some 115,000 Catholics, together two percent of the population. Though the war years reduced these, they still formed a firm base for the sensational Christian

growth in the postwar era which has given Korea Asia's largest Protestant community of some six million plus some 1.7 million Catholics, about 19% of the population. Thus in the first sixty years of relations it was religion and American missionaries which forged by far the largest, most positive, most influential and most lasting American bond with Korea: a striking achievement in world missionary history.

### The Allied Victory

The Allied victory over Japan in 1945 abruptly changed everything for Korea.

Washington's awareness of Korea's strategic importance, Roosevelt's anti-colonial posture, the impact of the 1919 Korean independence movement and Chinese insistence led to the Cairo Declaration promise of the Allies in December, 1943, "that in due course Korea shall become free and independent." The war path to Japan, however, soon bypassed floundering China in favor of island-hopping from the South, leaving Korea sidelined under a vague plan for a four-power trusteeship. In the climactic final August, 1945, days of atomic bombing, Soviet entry into the Asian war and into Korea, and Japan's swift capitulation, the Pentagon moved to forestall an ad hoc Soviet occupation of all Korea by unilaterally suggesting that the 38th parallel divide Soviet from American acceptance of the Japanese surrender in Korea. The Russians agreed. This temporary expedient rapidly hardened into permanence around two increasingly confrontational occupations, made increasingly hostile by perceptions, barriers and major refugee flows. These refugee movements brought the north's flourishing Christian population south. Within weeks, each political system reacted by seeking leadership most hostile to the other Korea, a pattern never since breached. This quickly shattered into lasting bitterness and unrivalled adamancy an ancient, relatively homogeneous unity. American occupation authorities further contributed to division by rejecting the political party or incipient 'government' started throughout Korea and found by them on landing. The extremes of both occupying powers pounded away the middle ground Korea once had, joint Occupation Commissions failed and each power resorted to creating a military in its own image which rapidly dominated

the institutionless landscape of each Korea. Through expansion, recruitment and education, these militaries became formative, spreading confrontation and undergirding authoritarian regimes. With the withdrawals of both occupying powers in 1948-49 and the foundation of two independent governments, restraint was withdrawn and tension soared.

### The Korean War and After

On the U.S. side, military budget reductions and strong military feelings that the Middle East and Europe were higher strategic priorities led Washington from 1948-50 to declare Korea outside its defense perimeters. North Korea's leader, Kim Il-Sung, his forces strengthened by battle-hardened Korean veterans of Mao Tse-tung's armies as well as by Soviet arms, then felt free to invade which he did on June 25, 1950. Truman, faced with an unprovoked attack, reversed policy and brought U.S. troops to South Korea's defense as the dominant element in UN forces. Victory in September tempted these forces to try an ill-advised armed unification of the peninsula. This invoked the counter-invasion of massive Chinese 'volunteers' who then fought UN forces to a draw and to an Armistice in 1953 along a Demilitarized Zone close to—but more defensible than—the old 38th parallel. The South Korean government opposed the Armistice which it did not sign and the unpopularity of the war brought Republicans to power in Washington. Still, comradeship in war bound the US and Korea together as never before.

The United States has retained troops in Korea ever since (currently 40,000), even though all Chinese forces left by 1959, Soviet troops having left by the end of 1948. American military power and massive economic aid were reintroduced but into a far more militarized and exclusively rightist South Korea purged of all those willing or able to seek compromises. The US retained tactical command of Korea's armed forces and responsibility for maintenance of the Armistice.

When the authoritarian Syngman Rhee was overthrown by student demonstrations and democracy introduced in 1960, the militarized state crushed it in a coup. The United States, just traumatized in the Bay of Pigs, found itself powerless to intervene. Instead, rightist dictatorship

ingratiated itself by successful economic management and by wholehearted support of US military efforts in Vietnam. Despite increased authoritarianism and human rights violations and undue Korean attempts to influence US policy in "Koreagate" in the 1970's, the alliance held despite criticism that its military orientation militated against democratic development. Continued economic development led to vastly increased US-Korean trade and considerable investment by Americans in Korea through the 1970's and until today, replacing completely by the early 1970's the long dependence on US-appropriated economic aid and enormously increasing the intermeshing between the two economies.

### Altered Beyond Recognition

The result has altered beyond recognition the old Korean-American relationship, not only in its vastly expanded intimacy and complexity but also in values, priorities and the agencies of its communication. Commercial contact has at last assumed the first place it was intended to have in the 1882 Treaty but, in fact, for 80 years never found. Political relations, so all-consuming in 1945-50, have retreated in relative significance. Korea still continues to shrug off the democratic model, the US partner concentrating on the military and private trade and looking the other way. North-South division, as unsolved as ever, reverts to the sidelines. Christianity has proliferated largely beyond the old missionary influence: Koreans now export as many religious professionals as they import. The US-Korean military relationship still tends to dominate politics now causing the first appearance of anti-American feeling, especially among students. Koreans, once known unfairly for 'apathy and sloth', are now known from the vegetable stands of Manhattan to the manufacturers of Seoul as among the world's most alert and superactive go-getters.

Problems abound and are serious. The United States still makes the greatest outside contribution to the serious peninsula arms race while not talking to Pyongyang. The US alone maintains nuclear weapons in South Korea. Pyongyang's large military establishment and edge of violence causes US-South Korean concern. No division in the 1980's remains so hostile as Korea's nor is an end to this in sight.



## PART II - COST OF THE DIVISION

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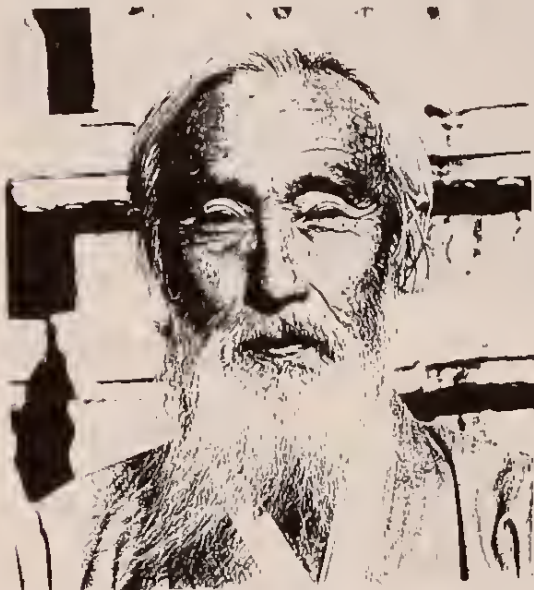
## PART II - COST OF THE DIVISION

### Discussion Questions

1. What is the heart of Ham Sok Hon's message? (p. 11)
2. Rev. Syngman Rhee, whose father was a Christian martyr during the war and whose brother was killed by the American bombing of north Korea, has had the rare opportunity to be reunited with his sisters in the north. He now seeks north/south reconciliation. What are his concerns, hopes and questions? (pp. 13-16)
3. How would we feel if our country were divided by foreigners into north and south? What would we do if our parents, children, spouse or siblings were on the other side and we could not visit them, call or write to them or even obtain any information about them? What would we do to change the situation? Would we work for reconciliation even if we were accused of being communists for doing so?
4. Why are Koreans afraid that the U.S. might use nuclear weapons in Korea? (pp. 18-22) What does the opposition party say about nuclear weapons? (p. 47) What might happen if Koreans were able to freely discuss the issue?
5. Over 40,000 U.S. troops remain in south Korea. Prostitution is one of the big problems around military bases. Poor young women who hoped to earn money and help their families find themselves caught in degrading circumstances from which they cannot escape. What can be done to stop this exploitation of women? Is the problem of prostitution likely to ever be solved as long as foreign troops are present? How would we feel if foreign troops were present in our country?
6. The resources of Korea are drained for military use. Though north Korea spends a greater percentage of GNP on defense, south Korea with its much larger GNP actually spends more money. (p.23) Would it be in the interest of both north and south Korea to cut back on military spending? Why don't they? Why don't we?
7. The division of the country has resulted in the militarization of all of society. What do we know about human rights abuses in north Korea? What do we know about human rights abuses in south Korea? Do we have a different responsibility to emphasize human rights abuses in south Korea, where we have documented information about imprisonment and torture of dissidents and where we have a deep involvement in economic and military affairs, than we do in north Korea, where we have less information and no economic, political or military ties? What changes in our relationship with north Korea might make it possible for us to be more effective in addressing human rights abuses there?
8. After years of labor repression south Korean workers have been demanding better pay, safety precautions, the right to form free and independent labor unions and the right to strike and bargain collectively. Can there be any stability in a society where workers do not receive their fair share of the profit? If those who work for social justice are branded "communists", might Koreans react by looking to communists as the liberators? Is there a relationship between loss of jobs in the U.S. and labor repression in Korea? Is there a relationship between labor repression in south Korea and our trade deficit?

When the Allied victory in World War II liberated Korea, Koreans at last saw an opportunity for self-determination. However at Yalta their hopes were dashed and the Koreans soon realized to their dismay that they had been freed from one master only to acquire two. As teacher Ham said some time after liberation:

"It can be said that we are liberated from Japan, but there is no liberation in any true sense. Rather, the worse tragedy today is that we have two masters to serve rather than one. Under Japanese slavery at least families could stay together and people could come and go freely. Now parents and children are separated in the divided North and South. Where is the freedom? Where is the liberation? South Korea calls the North, Russia's and China's puppet, and to North Korea the South is America's puppet. To third parties and disinterested observers, there are only puppets and no state. We are a Stateless people."



HAM SOK HON

The voice of Ham Sok Hon is frequently heard counselling the people of South Korea about the essentials for the reunification of their homeland. Furthermore, in a letter addressed to the North Korean people in the early 1970's (thus far published only in South Korea), he said the following:

"We must become one, because we are one (people). We can live only by becoming one. We cannot live in this divided situation, and even though we are alive, we are not living. The South must trust the North, and the North must trust the South. And on this faith let us stand up together. The earlier we stand up, the better.."

## In Korea, Reunions In Tears

By CLYDE HABERMAN  
Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Sept. 21 — Kim Kun Nyo was nervous this morning, squeezing a crumpled handkerchief and avoiding people's eyes. In a few minutes she was to meet her younger brother.

Miss Kim had not seen him in 35 years, and now, at the age of 59, she was to get the opportunity. Until she learned otherwise a few days ago, she said, "I thought he had already died."

She waited for him at a round table in a hotel hall in Seoul. The room was filled with 30 such tables, decked with flowers and plates of cookies. About 50 South Koreans sat around them. They were waiting for long-absent relatives, too.

The relatives were from South Korea, scattered by turmoil across borders created after the division of Korea in 1945 and the North-South war of the early 1950's.

A similar scene was taking place in North Korea's capital, Pyongyang, where South Koreans had gone on the same mission.

### First Crossing of the Border

Never before had the two hostile Koreas allowed their citizens to cross the heavily armed border for family reunions.

The wait at the Seoul hotel ended when doors opened and 15 North Koreans walked into the hall.

Miss Kim looked into the face of her brother, Kim Jin Gup, not sure it was he at first. Then she knew, and she cried softly. Others weiled as they touched a sister, a nephew, a mother or a cousin.

For a while, Suh Young Suk, a middle-aged man from North Korea, seemed inconsolable when his 83-year-old mother, her slight long faded, failed to recognize him.

"It is me, your first son," he cried.

"I can't see your face," his mother, Yu Myo Sul, said, "but I remember your name."

It seemed improbable that the reunions would signal warmer relations between the Koreans. Even while the meetings took place, the two sides argued.

The North wanted get-togethers held in small rooms, as the ones in



Associated Press

An unidentified brother and sister weeping as they were reunited yesterday in Seoul, South Korea. The brother lives in North Korea.

Pyongyang reportedly were. South Korea preferred the big hall, where television crews and reporters roamed between tables.

To protest the use of the large room, North Korea refused to let some of its people meet relatives they had traveled south to see.

Each side allowed 50 people to cross the border on Friday at Panmunjom, a tiny fraction of the millions of separated family members. Each group was accompanied by officials, journalists and performing artists.

According to South Korean Red Cross officials, who had arranged the reunions, relatives in South Korea could be found for only 30 of the 50 North Koreans whose names had been provided.

At the last minute, the North Korean Red Cross decided that it would permit only half that number, 15 people, to enter the hall. The others had to wait for a second round of meetings Sunday.

South Koreans who had come in

vain today to see family members sat at their tables, looking out of place and neglected.

"I feel sorry," said Roh Kang Yul, who had hoped to see his nephew. "I am here to share time with him."

Li Un Koo, a 51-year-old North Korean, sobbed when he learned from his uncle that his parents had died. When the uncle, Kwon Oh Kyung, mentioned that an aunt had emigrated to the United States, Mr. Li stopped crying.

"So, she has been sold away," he said.

This afternoon, 50 North Korean singers and dancers performed at Seoul's National Theater, a musical revue containing no political overtones. The audience of prominent South Koreans responded with thin applause.

As the spectators left the theater, they had to return their printed programs, even though they contained virtually nothing but photographs of the performers

In September of 1950, a 19-year-old youth went with a pushcart and shovel to a field not far from his home in Pyongyang, Korea. There, aided by his mother and brothers, he searched among a chain of manacled corpses in a common grave for the body of his father, a minister slain with many of his colleagues by retreating Communist activists. When they located the body, the family praised God. They had a father and husband to bury at a time when many Koreans searched in vain for their loved ones.

A year later, Communist armies were back in Pyongyang, and United Nations bombers swept in from the South. In the rain of high explosives, the young man's older brother perished.

That 19-year-old Korean youth is now the Reverend Syngman Rhee, a minister and the liaison officer for East Asian affairs of the United Presbyterian Church. (Prior to September 1 he served as liaison officer for the Middle East since 1973.)

In the article that follows Mr. Rhee

calls for reconciliation between South Korea and North Korea and reports for the first time on a visit to North Korea.

Why does Mr. Rhee call for reconciliation now at a time when the practical prospects of reconciliation seem more remote than ever? "Because it is time," he says, "The Lord's time for reconciliation."

This article is being published simultaneously with A.D., the denominational magazine of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. and the United Church of Christ.

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## A Crack in the Barrier of Silence

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### *After 30 years a church leader returns to his native North Korea*

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Syngman Rhee

**K**orea is a small peninsula in northeast Asia with a population of over 50 million people. At the end of the Japanese occupation in 1945, Korea was divided by fiat of the victorious World War II allies into two "countries," North and South. Today the line the Great Powers drew across the Korean map at the 38th parallel is one of the most tightly closed frontiers in the world. Armies of men, tanks and guns face each other across that border to ensure that neither mail nor any other form of ordinary communication takes place. It has been that way now for 35 years.

What is now North Korea was my home for the first 19 years of my life. For two-and-one-half years I attended the Sung Wha Methodist Seminary in Pyongyang, where many young men were trained for leadership in the church. However, very soon after

1945 Christians began to face much difficulty under the North Korean Communist regime, sometimes suffering persecution, imprisonment, and martyrdom.

My father, a Christian minister, was imprisoned with other Christian leaders by the North Koreans. He was martyred for his faith during the first year of the Korean War which broke out just 30 years ago on June 25th. At that time I experienced first hand the cost of being a Christian as well as the horrors of war.

After my father's death, my mother decided to send my younger brother and me to the South. She believed it was the best way to ensure our safety and survival.

The decision was far from an easy one for her or for us. My brother and I fled from Pyongyang on a snowy Sunday morning in December 1950.

We followed long lines of United Nations troops who were withdrawing from North Korea pursued by the Chinese Communist Army. In all, nearly half a million Koreans endured experiences similar to my brother's and mine as we walked 18 days to reach Pusan near the southern tip of Korea.

Since it was a severely cold and very dangerous time, only the young and strong dared to venture on that long walk South. As we traveled, my brother and I thought again and again of our four sisters, aged 14, 10, 8, and 4 months, and of our mother whom we left behind.

We remembered how our mother had come to the gate of our house, held our hands, and murmured, "Pray to God wherever you go, and we will see each other's faces in our prayers."

When we came back to my

refugees, my brother and I joined the South Korean Marine Corps; we served as Marines for five years during the Korean War. In 1953 I came to the United States for a six-months special training course at the U.S. Marine Corps. School in Quantico, Virginia. Later, in 1956, after my discharge from the Marine Corps, I returned to America as a student at Davis and Elkins College in West Virginia. Following my graduation I continued my studies at Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, Yale Divinity School, and Chicago Theological Seminary. In 1959 I became pastor of Westminster Presbyterian Church in Louisville and later served as a campus minister at the university there. In those years I often thought of how happy my mother would be if she only could know that I was following in my father's footsteps as a Christian pastor.

Every day through the years since my mother said farewell to us, I have wondered about my family. Every day since 1950 I have fervently wished there were some way to hear from them or about them. Were my mother and my sisters alive? Would it ever be possible for me to visit my childhood home? For decades the frontier has been a barrier of silence. There was no way to learn what happened to countless families like ours that had been separated. The longing to know was always with me, and as a Christian, I continued to dream about visiting the North. I continued to pray for reconciliation between our divided people and to believe that some day I might be an agent of that reconciliation.

Then, in the spring of 1978, an unexpected opportunity arose to make my long-dreamed visit home. The occasion came while I was on a trip in the Middle East, and I had to decide on the spot, without previous planning and without consultations. I was filled with both anticipation and anxiety as I boarded a plane for Pyongyang.

On my arrival at the government guest house in the Northern capital, my four sisters, who now live in a city about 100 miles north of Pyongyang, were brought to see me. I cannot describe the emotions of love and joy we shared in that reunion. First, however, came sadness. I learned that my mother had died in 1970; she had waited 20 years expecting and hoping for news about me and my brother.

My oldest sister now works in the office of a North Korean government coal mine. My second sister is employed in a government railroad de-



(Above) The author (center) with his four sisters during their reunion in Pyongyang. (Below) The author as a child, holding his father's hand, in 1934 with his parents, two brothers and a relative. His oldest brother, standing right, was killed during the Korean War. His other brother, seated on his mother's lap, now lives in South Korea.





Mr. Rhee's third sister, shown here with her children (top), works on a farm. His second sister (above) is a planning engineer with the railway system.

velopment and planning office. The third works on a farm. My youngest sister, who had been only four months old when I left home, is now a physician and surgeon.

Our hours together were insufficient for all that we wanted to share with each other, but at least we had the privilege of seeing each other's faces again, a dream that has been denied to countless members of Koreans who have been separated from their families.

I found few traces of the old Pyongyang I had known, except for the beautiful Daedong River, its surrounding landscape and the famous temple on Moranbong Mountain. Now a city of 1,500,000, Pyongyang is all-new, completely rebuilt after the Korean War.

One of the most significant events of my stay was my meeting with Mr. Kang Ryang Wook, vice premier of North Korea. I had known Mr. Kang years ago when he was pastor of a Presbyterian church in Pyongyang. He had been a close friend of my father during my early years, and a colleague of my mother as a teacher in a mission school. That period was one in which Pyongyang was called "the Jerusalem of Korea" because of the vitality of its Christian community.

In my conversation with Vice Premier Kang I spoke of my hope that the church would enjoy a more open existence as a visible part of North Korean society. The vice premier assured me that there is freedom of religion in North Korea. He told me about Christians who worship in homes and about the League of Christian Believers. The League, he explained, has its own office and staff. He also said, rather apologetically, that church buildings destroyed during the war had not yet been rebuilt because people were busy with other, essential construction.

As I searched in Mr. Kang's words, and in my conversation with others, for glimpses of openness to the West I was interested to learn that English is taught both in high school and in college. I also listened to the popular early morning English lessons on the radio.

As I boarded the plane to leave Pyongyang, I felt joy over finding my sisters and being with them, as well as sorrow in being separated once again. I do not know if, when, or how, we will see each other again.

At the same time I returned to the United States with a feeling of anxiety about what my trip to North Korea might mean. I had gone back to my

homeland, a journey that South Korean citizens would be forbidden even to think about. I experienced the agonizing necessity of not being able to share the good news of my family reunion even with my brother in Seoul, lest it become a burden to him. I felt that I had to keep my journey to myself until now, almost two years later.

Among many thoughts to come out of my travel, three main themes preoccupy me. The first is my urgent concern for the reuniting of other separated families. Korean political and military realities have until now made it almost impossible for thousands of families who were unwillingly separated by the circumstances of war even to raise their voices in concern for lost members left behind the 38th Parallel.

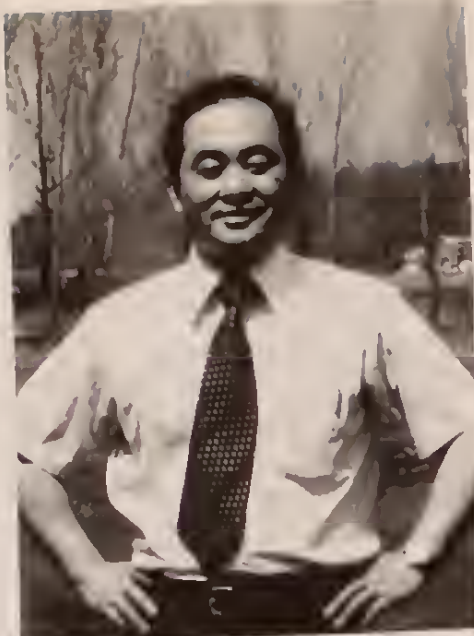
It has been difficult and dangerous to seek any information about loved ones in both Koreas. An intense longing to know more about one's family—a longing held in common by all people of North and South for three decades—is one of the real, tangible bonds that unites the Korean people.

The agony of waiting, of not knowing year after year what has happened to those we love, is one of the supreme human tragedies of our time.

My thoughts since my return also have focused on the urgent need for reconciliation in Korea. I have long wondered what ways we can find to enable people to work together to avoid war, reduce tension, and find a peaceful resolution to the hostilities between North and South. Having gone through war and seen its tragedy, I am convinced that there must never be another conflict in Korea. I ponder, too, the human cost in casualties of the war in 1950-53. Such reflection will sober any who might consider armed strife as a solution to future problems.

Despite the political estrangement that continues between the two Koreas, there is an increasingly poignant necessity for reconciliation. Deeply broken relationships on the Korean peninsula have caused alienation and estrangement and these have had a costly effect upon all Korean people. At the same time, every Sunday morning Christians in South Korea—and I dare say in North Korea too—pray fervently for reunification. The power of this desire to again be one people in a commonality of history, language and tradition should not be underemphasized.

The urgency of time also casts its



The author in North Korea.

shadow upon the Korean people's separation. Older generations in Korea, those who once knew each other and lived in the same area, hold an understandably different view of each other than younger generations who have grown up one side or the other of the 38th parallel. Younger Koreans live in an atmosphere of mutual ignorance, fear and hate. To see and to acknowledge such strains seem to make reconciliation increasingly difficult, but I cannot forget the words of St. Paul, who insisted that we are "no longer foreigners and strangers, but rather all God's people and fellow citizens of the family of God."

While I was liaison officer for the United Presbyterian Church in the Middle East I saw parallels between the situation in that troubled region and the situation in Korea. I have been inspired by efforts at reconciliation such as President Sadat's courageous visit to Jerusalem. Even after five tragic wars between Egypt and Israel, people on both sides are trying to learn the meaning of reconciliation and how to coexist peacefully. I wish that the governments and people of North and South Korea will find similar energy.

My third major reflection leads me to seek ways in which the Gospel may be recognized once more in the area that is now North Korea. I realize that this must be an indigenous way, representing a genuine Korean ex-

pression. I hope to find that the Christian faith which I learned in Pyongyang and which has meant so much to me in these later years is still alive, or may come alive again, in North Korea.

These thoughts have formed themselves in my mind as a prayer for a greater vision of a mission in Northeast Asia that will be responsive to their needs and realities. Along with St. Paul I pray "that I may be bold in speaking about the Gospel as I should." But I must ask myself what would the act of speaking of the Gospel mean in a socialist land like North Korea.

I hold the conviction that the Gospel can and must be preached in socialist countries, as has already been demonstrated in several lands. And yet, I am searching for a form that the Christian community may take in a land like North Korea. Is churchly Christianity as we know it viable there? Or must we seek new understandings of how the openness and newness of the Gospel may be communicated in the creative tensions that face all Koreans at this moment?

The Korean people have astounding qualities of patience and endurance, and they have long hoped for deliverance. Their patience, their endurance, has made them a new "People of the Promise" who look for a time of peace and joy. The people of the Land of the Morning Calm await the daybreak. ■



**KOREAN WAR 1950-1953**

More bombs were dropped during this war than in the whole European Theater during World War II. Between 2-3,000,000 civilians were killed, wounded or reported missing. There were 1,000,000 Chinese casualties. Some 34,000 Americans lost their lives in those battles, too, along with 1,300 persons of other nations which contributed to the U.N. forces. By the end of the war, the families of some 10,000,000 Koreans were divided.

Such wounds heal very slowly, both in Korea and in our own nation. Their pain continues, and the scars remain.

Policy statement - NCCC-USA

**NORTH KOREA from PYONGYANG**  
 Foreign Languages Publishing House  
 Pyongyang DPRK 1980



Working people in Pyongyang rise up in postwar reconstruction

**SOUTH KOREA**  
**PICTORIAL KOREA 1953-4**

**한국화보**

Second Printing September 25, 1954.  
 First Printing April 1, 1954



韓國國際報道聯盟發行  
 INTERNATIONAL PUBLICITY LEAGUE OF KOREA  
 No. 107-38, Ulsan, Seoul, Korea



A war-driven family getting back to their old home town city of Seoul only to find all have been reduced to ashes including their own house.

**KOREA**  
THE UNTOLD STORY  
OF THE WAR  
Joseph C.  
Goulden

McGraw-Hill  
© 1982  
pp. 395-397

## Loose Nuclear Talk

The JCS staff study was still in progress on November 30, when President Truman was drawn into a discussion of nuclear weaponry at a press conference. The President used language that was both loose and legally inaccurate.

Q. (by Anthony Leviero, *The New York Times*): Mr. President, will attacks in Manchuria depend on action in the United Nations?

The PRESIDENT. Yes, entirely.

Q. (Leviero): In other words, if the UN should authorize General MacArthur to go further than he has, he will?

The PRESIDENT. We will take whatever steps are necessary to meet the military situation, just as we always have.

Q. (Jack Dougherty, *New York Daily News*): Will that include the atomic bomb?

The PRESIDENT. That includes every weapon that we have.

Q. (Paul R. Leach, *Chicago Daily News*): Mr. President, you said, "every weapon that we have." Does that mean that there is active consideration of the use of the atomic bomb?

The PRESIDENT. There has always been active consideration of its use. I don't want to see it used. It is a terrible weapon and it should not be used on innocent men, women and children who have nothing whatever to do with this military aggression—that happens when it's used.

Merriman Smith, the veteran correspondent for the United Press, apparently thought the President had put the case stronger than intended. He gave Truman a chance to back away.

Q. Mr. President, I wonder if we could retrace that reference to the atomic bomb. Did we understand you clearly that the use of the atomic bomb is under active consideration?

The PRESIDENT. Always has been, Smitty. It's one of our weapons.

Q. (Robert Dixon, International News Service): Does that mean, Mr. President, use against military objectives or civilian—

The PRESIDENT (interposing). *It is a matter that the military people will have to decide. I am not a (the) military authority that passes on these things* [emphasis added].

Reporters returned to the subject a few questions later.

Q. (Frank Bourgholtzer, NBC News): Mr. President, you said this depends on the United Nations action. Does that mean that we would not use the atomic bomb except on a United Nations authorization?

The PRESIDENT. No, it does not mean that at all. The action against Communist China depends on the action of the United Nations. *The military commander in the field will have charge of the use of the weapons, as he always has* [emphasis added].

President Truman was flatly wrong, as the pained White House press office said a few hours later in a "clarifying statement." Under the Atomic Energy Act, only the President can authorize use of the atomic bomb. But before this statement was issued, both the Associated Press and United Press had flashed Truman's misstatement around the world, causing "much excitement at home and abroad," as Edward T. Folliard wrote in the *Washington Post*. British officials said they were "shocked and astounded" by the statement, which they took to mean that the unpredictable MacArthur had been given a free hand to use the atomic bomb against the Chinese.

Although Truman was never noted for precision of language, his misstatement of presidential authority on such a sensitive issue was so glaring that it is suspicious. In his own memoirs (at times poor history), Truman says the press misunderstood him, although he does not bother to quote his own assertion that use of nuclear weapons "is a matter that the military people will have to decide." There is a smidgen of evidence that Truman did not misspeak: that he intended to warn the Chinese, and the Soviets, that escalated violence in Korea risked all-out war.<sup>23</sup>

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# Brinksmanship in the Pacific

*The U.S. goal of maritime supremacy over the Soviet Union has triggered a nuclear build-up that imperils the globe.*

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BY LYUBA ZARSKY, PETER HAYES & WALDEN BELLO

Over the past seven years, the Pacific has become an arena of heightened superpower confrontation. Since the late 1970s, and especially since Ronald Reagan's new Cold Warriors swept into power, the United States has undertaken a major military build-up in the Pacific. Part of a global strategy to attain clear-cut superiority over the Soviet Union, this build-up is particularly important to the U.S. goal of attaining "maritime supremacy."

With the world's economic center of gravity tilting to the Pacific, the strategic stakes in the region have increased. By the early 1980s, Asia-Pacific nations accounted for 17 percent of world production and 20 percent of world exports. The U.S. volume of trade with the Pacific outstripped that with Europe by a quarter. And by 1986, Japanese banks dominated world financial markets, controlling the largest share of world financial assets.

Aimed at reasserting U.S. power in what the military considers an American lake, the build-up reversed U.S. policy in the mid-1970s, which moved to reduce U.S. regional forces following defeat in Viet-

nam. By the mid-1980s, the U.S. commander-in-chief Pacific (CINCPAC) commanded more than 320,000 U.S. Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force troops assigned to the Pacific. Indeed, the Pacific is the Pentagon's largest multi-service, unified region of military operations. Primarily a maritime theater, Pacific Command stretches from Alaska to South Africa, covering nearly half the earth's surface.

American strategy in the Pacific rests on three legs: increased deployment of nuclear and conventional forces; an upgraded role for nuclear weapons; and a reinvigorated network of security alliances under U.S. nuclear leadership.

While this strategy involves the entire region, the spearhead of the U.S. military thrust is Northeast Asia and the Soviet Far East, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet. The Soviet Union, which is an Asian as well as a European power, has responded by expanding its own nuclear land-based and naval forces.

This build-up has triggered a dangerous and escalating superpower nuclear arms race in the Pacific. As a result, the Pacific has become an arena that contains the seeds of global nuclear war.

## Nuclear Arms Race

The nuclear peril in the Pacific stems from political, institutional, technological and geographical sources.

First and foremost is the deployment of large, increasingly lethal and accurate Soviet and American nuclear forces. The U.S. build-up has focused primarily on the Navy, while the Soviets have expanded mainly their land-based nuclear arsenal.

The relatively recent addition of subma-

rine-launched Trident I missiles aboard Ohio-class submarines has increased American nuclear firepower dramatically. First deployed in the Pacific in 1983, Ohios are the ultimate land-attack weapon system. Each submarine can fire 24 Trident I missiles and rain 192 warheads to within 500 yards of their targets. With a firing range of more than 4,500 miles, the Ohio can hit targets deep in Soviet Central Asia from the middle of the Pacific. The United States plans to deploy 10 Ohio subs in all. By 1989, they will carry the even more lethal Trident II missiles.

Deployment of sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles is another threatening development. With the Tomahawk, the number of Pacific-fleet ships capable of launching a nuclear attack will increase from five in 1984 to about 50 in 1990.

No larger than a sea gull to Soviet radars, the Tomahawk can travel 1,500 miles before exploding a nuclear bomb above Soviet airfields or ports. By disarming Soviet coastal defenses, the Tomahawk would allow U.S. aircraft carriers to cruise into waters adjacent to the Soviet Far East. From there they could attack Soviet land forces or nuclear missile submarines at sea, a strategy Admiral James Watkins, former chief of naval operations, called going "for the jugular."

The Navy's strategy rests on "offensive defense," that is, projecting its power to the shores of the Soviet Union. "Simply stated," said Admiral Sylvester Foley, the commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in 1983, "the concept is to get the archer before he releases his arrow." Drawing on refurbished battleships and new aircraft carriers, the Pacific armada of forward-de-

*Lyuba Zarsky and Peter Hayes are researchers with Nautilus Pacific Research in Leverett, Massachusetts. Walden Bello is the Pacific affairs specialist for the Institute for Food and Development Policy in San Francisco. They are the authors of American Lake (Viking-Penguin, 1987). Paul Spiegel provided assistance for this article.*

ployed surface warships jumped from 21 to 40 ships between 1980 and 1983.

Confronted with nuclear-armed U.S. forces at its doorstep, the Soviet Union has expanded its own nuclear forces. Soviet Pacific fleet submarines and surface ships, headquartered at Vladivostok, have been fortified with ballistic and cruise missiles. Indeed, the Soviets use nuclear weapons to compensate for the shortcomings of their aging fleet.

Most of the Soviet Pacific nuclear arsenal is kept at home in the warheads of intermediate-range, mobile SS-20 ballistic missiles. Deployed in Central Asia and the Far East since 1978, the SS-20s are aimed not only at U.S. Pacific forces but also at China, with whom the Soviets share a 4,500 mile border.

### Limited Nuclear War Plan

American strategic doctrine—the plans that govern the use of nuclear weapons—form the second leg of U.S. strategy and a second source of the growing nuclear peril in the Pacific.

First, this strategy calls for a global war in which the United States surrounds the Soviet Union. In the past, U.S. doctrine rested on the notion that Europe would be the primary war theater. Today, the Pentagon—especially the Navy—is as oriented toward the Pacific as toward Europe. In wartime, it is just as likely that U.S. forces would swing from Europe to the Pacific as in the opposite direction. Furthermore, if war breaks out in Europe or the Middle East, the Navy may attack the Soviets in the Pacific.

Second, in a break from earlier thinking that any use of nuclear weapons would escalate rapidly to global war, Pacific Command is equipped and ready to fight a theater nuclear war in the Pacific. If war were to break out in volatile Korea, for example, the Army envisions a nuclear attack limited to the peninsula. If a naval shootout were to take place in the North Pacific, the Navy believes it can confine the fighting to the sea.

Pacific Command has an astonishing array of organizations devoted to nuclear war planning at its headquarters in Hawaii.

Particularly important is the Nuclear Operations Team, which works out of the Nuclear Operations Center, where Pacific-wide nuclear war activities are coordinated.

Under Reagan, Pacific Command's bureaucracy for fighting "limited" nuclear wars has proliferated.

### Soviet Lake?

According to the new Cold Warriors, the American build-up in the Pacific merely

balances a recent Soviet naval thrust into the region. The Navy's rhetoric often borders on the hysterical. "The Pacific moat's integrity," railed a 1985 editorial in *Proceedings*, a prestigious U.S. Navy journal, "is being challenged by the Soviet Union and, today, it is a waterway over which the Soviet Pacific Fleet is probing, prowling and testing." It was the same year Admiral Sylvester Foley, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet, warned that the Pacific "could turn into a Soviet lake. . . ."

In reality, the Soviet strategic position in Asia is bleak, as even senior American commanders admit. With the United States and Western Europe on one side and the United States, China and Japan on the other, the Soviet Union is surrounded by hostile powers. In fact, the major portion of the Soviet Union's Far East military effort is directed at China.

Soviet power in the Pacific—in political, economic and conventional military terms—pales beside that of the United States and its Pacific allies. Although they have recently greatly expanded their Pacific naval forces, the Soviets do not have a single aircraft carrier to match the six U.S. carrier battle groups in the Pacific. Most Soviet bombers and fighter planes are capable only of territorial defense.

The U.S.S.R. has only two allies in the Pacific: North Korea, which is adamantly independent and also allied to China; and Vietnam, where the Soviets maintain a base originally built by the United States at Cam Ranh Bay. The base houses a substantial Soviet arsenal, including submarines, surface ships and a floating dry dock. Other Soviet military facilities in Vietnam include an intelligence station and an airbase.

The primary purpose of Soviet bases in Vietnam, however, is to open a southern front in the event of a war with China, as well as to protect the important Soviet Far East supply route via the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, the bases are vulnerable to the powerful U.S. 7th Fleet and the southern Chinese coastal navy, as well as to American air power from Guam, Okinawa and the Philippines.

With few forward bases and little forward capability, Soviet military strategy can be summed up as "defensive defense." It is a strategy aimed primarily at facing and countering the American threat in the West Pacific.

Nonetheless, the Soviets also stand at the nuclear brink in the Pacific, casting a long shadow. To compensate for its weakness in conventional forces, the Soviet Union has built a huge, primarily home-based nuclear arsenal that hangs over the region like a sledgehammer. While the Cold Warriors in

the White House plan for "limited war," the Soviets point to their sledgehammer and make clear that *any* attack—nuclear or conventional—on their homeland or military forces will bring down its full weight. As the United States ups the ante with its naval-nuclear deployments, the Soviet Union calls the bet by piling up its home-based arsenal of SS-20 missiles. Outgunned by the United States in conventional forces, the Soviets have adopted a highly escalatory nuclear doctrine that substitutes risk for capability.

In July 1986, Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev travelled to Vladivostok to call for a regional disarmament and security conference. The United States rejected the idea outright as mere propaganda. Moreover, the Pentagon worries that nuclear arms control or disarmament in the Pacific would curtail interventions by the nuclear Navy.

### Nuclear Shadow Boxing

The United States and the Soviet Union shadow box with nuclear weapons not only in the Pacific but also in Europe and the Middle East. Yet the risk that they will trade real nuclear punches in the Pacific is as great or greater because it is such a politically volatile and heavily nuclear-armed area.

Cold War blocs, which have remained static in Europe, have shifted dramatically in the Pacific. China, for example, switched from being a Soviet ally to a U.S. friend, tipping the balance of Asian politics. In less than half a century there have been two major land wars and a host of bloody insurrections out of which heavily-armed repressive governments have emerged. Communist, democratic and nationalist insurgencies, as well as continuing conflicts between nations, continue to make the region politically turbulent.

Should superpower interventions in these conflicts overlap, The United States and the Soviet Union could clash in combat and push the nuclear button. Indeed, while the United States has not launched a nuclear attack since 1945, it has repeatedly threatened China, North Korea and Vietnam, as well as the Soviet Union, with nuclear attacks.

There is no doubt that the Middle East could become a flashpoint, escalating to superpower confrontation. While there are no permanent Soviet or American nuclear stockpiles in the Middle East, U.S. and Soviet nuclear-armed submarines patrol the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, the United States has created a 300,000-man Rapid Deployment Force for intervention in a Mideast (or Asian) hot spot. Unlike Europe

and Korea, however, there is no nuclear "trip wire" in the Mideast.

The most likely place for a nuclear war to erupt in the Pacific is in Korea or at sea in the North Pacific. A highly sensitive Soviet military area, the seas offshore Northeast Asia are thickly deployed with U.S. and Soviet submarines and surface ships. It is a tense area where American and Soviet ships have collided. In 1983, just six weeks after the Soviets shot down an intruding KAL commercial jetliner, the United States conducted a massive naval exercise in the region—a barely disguised dry-run for an attack on the Soviet Far East.

Korea is the nuclear powder keg of the Pacific. Dug in along the northern side of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) are an estimated three-quarters of North Korea's 800,000 troops. Facing them are more than half-a-million South Korean soldiers and nearly 40,000 American soldiers. In what one former U.S. commander in Korea called "the most remarkable concession of sovereignty in the entire world," the South Korean military is controlled by the American commander stationed there.

American forces in Korea threaten nuclear retaliation for any attack from the north. They ensure that the United States automatically will be involved in any war that erupts on the divided peninsula. Equipped with 150 nuclear weapons, these forces field the only American soldiers in the world who remain on a war footing 24 hours a day. "Every day and every night," says an American commander in Korea, American soldiers are sent out "on ambushes and patrol in the DMZ with the sole mission to shoot folks."

Little is known about American nuclear weapons in Korea. Documents recently released under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, however, cast light on the structure and purpose of American nuclear forces. The telephone directory of U.S. Forces Korea, for example, lists a "Plans and Operations Nuclear Division" in South Korea, which has three branches that cover plans and operations, control of the weapons, and emergency disposal.

Another document, the "Organization and Functions Manual," explains that the nuclear division "analyzes nuclear targets," "performs nuclear fire planning" and "prepares nuclear contingency plans."

Most South Koreans, even those in

Seoul's defense establishment, believe that American nuclear strategy in Korea is wholly unilateral. In fact, the South Korean and U.S. militaries meet informally to discuss nuclear war plans. This briefing is necessary because South Korean forces would apparently be used in a nuclear attack. According to the "Organization and Functions Manual," the "American Weapons Support Detachment-Korea" provides the U.S. commander with "nuclear support teams prepared to fire nuclear weapons using Republic of Korea weapon systems."

Some American analysts believe that such South Korean participation in preparations and plans for nuclear war contradicts American nuclear non-proliferation policy in Korea.

If the United States launched a nuclear attack on North Korea, which has no nuclear weapons, the war would likely spill over into a nuclear exchange between Soviet and American Pacific fleets. This nuclear shoot-out near the Soviet coast would escalate rapidly to a global war. And even if the Kremlin stayed out of the war, millions of Koreans would die in U.S. nuclear attacks.

The United States faces fewer constraints on the use of its nuclear weapons in Korea and the Pacific than in Europe, where it must consult with a host of allies in the multilateral framework of NATO. In contrast, the United States is linked to its Pacific allies via a network of bilateral treaties. As U.S. Army Chief General Edward Meyer said while on a visit to Seoul in 1980, escalation to nuclear war is "far simpler here than in Europe where consultations have to be made with 15 different sovereign nations."

Furthermore, the concerns of European elites are tied to the United States by deep historical and cultural ties, ties that Asian elites lack. Whether at sea or in the U.S.-controlled Demilitarized Zone in Korea, American actions are virtually unilateral.

### Nuclear Bloc in the Pacific

While they seldom have veto power, Pacific allies are crucial to U.S. military strategy in the region. Allies host the forward bases and ports that allow the United States to project nuclear power to every corner of Pacific Command's vast domain. Politically and militarily, allies form a regional U.S.-led anti-Soviet bloc undergirded by U.S. nuclear weapons.

Since the late 1970s, the United States has called on its allies to throw reinvigorated military support behind U.S. nuclear leadership. Joint exercises such as Team Spirit, a U.S.-Korea practice war against North Korea, have increased dramatically.

In 1984, 207,000 troops participated in Team Spirit. Another exercise, the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) brings together forces from Canada, Japan, Australia and the United States to bomb the island of Kaho'olawe in Hawaii.

Pacific allies have also been called upon to receive an increasing number of visiting U.S. nuclear warships. Aimed at the Soviet Union or other adversary, warships are an important aspect of American "coercive diplomacy," a flexible way to assert "presence" and convey "interest," all the while signifying the power of the Bomb—"the teeth," as the Chinese say, "behind the lips."

With its commitments and priorities expanding around the globe, the United States is also pressing its allies—especially Japan—to "share the burden" and take a larger security role in the region. After years of U.S. pressure to rearm, the substantial Japanese military has abandoned the fiction of a purely defensive posture and has agreed to take on three U.S. global-security tasks.

First, Japan is to patrol a 1,000-mile range of the Pacific and control two "sea lanes of communication" that extend from Tokyo to Guam and from Osaka to the Philippines. To fulfill this task, Japan is building a large, ocean-going navy.

While Japanese politicians claimed that sea-lane defense is aimed to protect vital Japanese oil imports, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff bluntly asserted in 1982 that it was "part of the U.S. global strategy against the Soviet Union." The chiefs insisted that "the Japanese capability to defend the said waters was essential to the whole of the free world."

The second strategic task requires Japan to prepare for war with North Korea or the Soviet Union. While deliberations are secret, U.S.-Japan defense guidelines call for studies of increased Japanese involvement in U.S. operations planning, intelligence gathering and logistical support. This will likely mean unrestricted U.S. access to Japanese bases and ports, including the transit of nuclear weapons.

Japan's third new task is to help block Soviet naval and air attacks on U.S. forces. To bottle up the Soviet fleet in its Far East bases, the Japanese Navy is to mine and blockade the three straits between the Sea of Japan and the Pacific. Japanese forces are also to intercept Soviet Backfire bombers chasing U.S. aircraft carriers. During a state visit to the United States in 1983, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone declared that Japan "should be like an unsinkable aircraft carrier putting up a tremendous bulwark of defense against the

infiltration of the Backfire bomber."

Even though domestic sentiment continues to run strongly against rearmament, Nakasone has succeeded in boosting Japan's military spending, which even surpassed the symbolic one percent of the country's Gross National Product (GNP) in 1986. [The 1 percent of GNP is largely an accounting fiction. In reality, Japan's military absorbs about 1.6 percent of its GNP.]

Nakasone's office-holding days are numbered. Without the presence of his enormous popularity, it is likely that debate about Japan's emerging global strategic role within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party will become more fractious. While the anti-nuclear Japanese Socialist Party suffered a major setback in the 1986 election, a popular anti-nuclear movement continues to challenge Japan's new role and demand non-alignment.

Not all the other allies, moreover, have fallen in line. New Zealand rejected the nuclear strategy altogether, electing a government in July 1984 that pledged to keep out nuclear warships [see article, page 23]. As a result, the United States threw New Zealand out of ANZUS, its trilateral alliance with Australia.

While most allied governments have acquiesced, the aggressive U.S. nuclear build-up has fueled opposition parties and popular movements committed to leading their nations out of an alliance with the United States. Furthermore, even allies that support the United States have been forced to wonder if the over-extended U.S. forces provide a credible security shield—or whether they simply increase the risk that the allies would be dragged into a U.S.-Soviet nuclear war.

## Nuclear Escalation

*We're not General Motors; we don't have a profit and loss column every month. The only way we can tell whether we're doing a good job is to go to war and see if we win or lose, and wars don't come along that often. That's a hell of a handicap to work under.*

—Admiral William Crowe, commander-in-chief Pacific, 1984; now chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

The presence of American forces strewn across the Pacific and Indian Oceans signals a U.S. appetite for military intervention. Partly sustained by bureaucratic rivalry between the Navy and Army, the build-up has left hardly a Pacific beach untouched. "We have plenty of forces," asserted former Marine Major General Bernard Trainor in 1984, "for force projection into the Third World."

But Pacific allies and even some American military analysts recognize that the United States has spread itself thin. American forces are embroiled in Korea, where a war is waiting to happen. In the next decade, other likely Pacific hot spots include the Philippines, Pakistan, the Middle East, and East and Southern Africa. Even with the recent build-up, the United States simply does not have the resources to field sufficient troops for multiple, simultaneous interventions.

The problem of acute overextension has plagued the United States in the Pacific during the whole post-World-War-II period. With one loss in China, one draw in Korea and one defeat in Vietnam on the U.S. scoreboard, Pacific allies and the American military have discovered that simply rounding up an international posse will not necessarily defeat its enemies.

To make up for the shortfall in American forces, the Cold Warriors lean heavily on allies and most of all, brandish the nuclear threat. With this strategy firmly in place, it is unlikely that a changeover to a Democratic administration will prompt a different direction.

The Marines' Trainor explained in 1984 what the end result of this strategy may be: "Given what's happening with the Soviets in their force projection, we probably at some point in our lifetime will clash with them."

"Now there are enormous dangers involved with that," he added. "Both sides know the dangers of escalation. It will probably be an unintended clash, and when it happens, there will be a rush on the part of both sides and the rest of the world that is so nervous about the two elephants bumping and getting stamped."

Trapped between the two elephants, Pacific nations are nervous indeed, since, as an old Malaysian proverb says, "When the elephants fight, the grass is trampled."

## Charting a New Pacific

The United States and the Soviet Union do not dance on an empty stage in the Pacific theater. The peoples and nations of the region are deeply entangled in superpower strategy, hosting forward-deployed military forces and receiving visiting warships.

Nuclear threats and entrenched colonialism have sparked a broad-based regional movement committed to demilitarization and independence. Loosely coordinated through periodic conferences, the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement (NFIP) encompasses a host of local, national and regional initiatives. The anti-bases campaign in the Philippines [see article, page 18], a growing anti-nuclear

movement in Korea, Palau's fight for its nuclear-free constitution [see article, page 22], the Kanak independence struggle in New Caledonia, New Zealand's stand against nuclear warships and the region-wide Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas are only the most visible.

The NFIP envisions a non-aligned and non-nuclear Pacific based on strong regional institutions. The most promising path to reducing the risk of nuclear war, while preserving regional peace, independence and security, is collective action by Pacific nations, especially American allies.

Acting in concert, Pacific nations can reduce the nuclear threat in the Pacific by pressuring the superpowers to separate and disengage their nuclear forces. Since conventional and nuclear forces are deeply integrated, disengagement means withdrawing all offensive superpower forces from the region.

To achieve this objective, Pacific nations will have to enhance their role in the region's political and military affairs. Soviet or American nuclear allies can apply pressure on the superpowers to disengage by posting "Not Welcome" signs for all nuclear forces and creating nuclear-free and non-intervention zones.

Popular movements and some Pacific states already have taken important steps in this direction. Some states have closed their ports to nuclear warships and established national and local nuclear-free zones. Others have proposed zones of neutrality in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean and a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The creation of a nuclear-free zone is most urgent in Korea and the Northwest Pacific, where American and Soviet nuclear forces directly confront each other.

Changes in U.S. Pacific policy would reinforce regional initiatives. Willingness to talk with the Soviets—to accept Gorbachev's recent proposal for a regional disarmament conference, for example, or to undertake Pacific arms control negotiations—would help loosen the diplomatic deadlock. With no arms control agreements or negotiations, the Pacific is currently a "nuclear frontier." Signing the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty would also signal U.S. sensitivity to regional concerns.

The alternatives are starkly defined. One is a Pacific with heightened tension and risk, possibly culminating in scorched, radiating islands and poisoned waters. The other is a new Pacific forged by people reaching across the ocean, from Manila to Suva, from Seoul to San Francisco, to form a regional community free from the threat of nuclear war. □

# Two Koreas— One Future?

Edited by  
John Sullivan and Roberta Foss

*A Report Prepared for the  
American Friends Service Committee*

## Chapter 4

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### Excerpts

#### The Military Situation on the Korean Peninsula

Stephen Goose

##### Military Spending

In comparing the military efforts of North and South Korea, perhaps the greatest anomaly is that in the period of alleged "unrestrained, unrelenting growth" by the North, the South has spent significantly more money on its military forces. This may be one of the best kept secrets in Washington.

Most analysts agree that North Korea began a significant military buildup in 1969-1970. Prior to that, the North had relied on a strategy of extensive infiltration, hoping to incite the southern population to revolt against the Park government. What does an examination of the data since 1970 show? According to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), from 1970 to 1983 North Korea spent \$24.4 billion on the military, compared to \$30.5 billion for South Korea.<sup>11</sup> In other words, in the period of military growth by North Korea which so concerns the U.S. and South Korean governments, the South has outspent the North by twenty-five percent. South Korea passed the North in spending in 1975 and has outspent it every year since.

ACDA's figures show that North Korea's defense budget increased more than six-fold from 1970 to 1983 (\$576 million to \$3.6 billion), but South Korea's increased nearly ten-fold (\$491 million to \$4.7 billion). In fact, it is ROK military spending that has been growing in a "steady, unrelenting" fashion. North Korea invested heavily in the military in the first half of the 1970s, but since then spending has been erratic: in real terms (adjusted for inflation), it decreased in 1975, rose in 1976, decreased in 1977, 1978, and 1979, rose in 1980, decreased in 1981, rose in 1982, and decreased in 1983. The variations in spending in real terms from 1980 to 1983 have been very slight; the DPRK budget has essentially held steady.<sup>12</sup> North Korea actually spent more on the military in 1972 than in 1979 in real terms.<sup>13</sup>

The last two editions of the ACDA publication on military spending contain an unusual, and confusing, development. The 1983 report, which included data for the years 1971-1980, listed North Korean expenditures in 1980 at \$1.3 billion.<sup>14</sup> However, the last two editions revised the 1980 figure to an estimated \$3 billion, with increases to \$3.5 billion in 1982 and \$3.6 billion in 1983.<sup>15</sup> Strangely, these astronomical jumps are not specifically mentioned in other government sources, in the congressional testimony of Defense and State Department witnesses, or in authoritative non-governmental sources. The following chart compares recent estimates of North Korean military spending:

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Press of America and AFSC.

	ACDA (83)	ACDA (85)	IISS	SIPRI
1979	\$1320	\$1320	\$1363	\$1429
1980	\$1300	\$3000 est.	\$1337	\$1533
1981	—	\$3240 est.	\$1601	\$1677
1982	—	\$3500 est.	\$1755	\$1807
1983	—	\$3600 est.	\$1916	\$1968
1984	—	—	\$4086	\$2129
1985	—	—	\$4196	\$2213 est.

Note: All figures are millions of dollars (not adjusted for inflation); ACDA—U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, *World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers*; IISS—International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance 1984-85 and 1985-86*; SIPRI—Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *SIPRI Yearbook 1986*.

Even with its revised estimates of very high North Korean military spending, ACDA shows that South Korea outspent the North in 1983 by thirty-one percent (\$4.7 billion vs. \$3.6 billion).<sup>16</sup> The London-based IISS puts South Korean military spending in 1983 at more than two and one-quarter times that of the North (\$4.4 billion vs. \$1.9 billion).<sup>17</sup>

ACDA has not released figures for military spending after 1983, but other U.S. government documents have pegged the ROK military budget in 1984 at \$4.5 billion,<sup>18</sup> and in 1985 at \$4.8 billion.<sup>19</sup> No U.S. government figures are available for North Korea, but SIPRI estimates North Korean military spending at \$2.1 billion in 1984 and \$2.2 billion in 1985,<sup>20</sup> while the IISS records a big jump to \$4.1 billion and \$4.2 billion, respectively.<sup>21</sup>

##### •The GNP Smokescreen

When addressing the issue of the "threat" from the North, the first thing most U.S. government officials will state is that the North spends over twenty percent of its GNP on the military, while the South spends only six percent. It is rarely mentioned that the ROK's gross national product is well over four times that of the DPRK—\$90.1 billion vs. \$23 billion in 1983—and that, therefore, the South is spending more.<sup>22</sup>

The percent of GNP spent on the military is one of the most useless and meaningless measures for comparing military forces. A large percent of GNP spent on the military does indicate a highly militarized country that places a high priority on the military and carries a heavy military burden. But it indicates very little about the military capability of a nation. Obviously, the total amount spent is a much more relevant gauge. What counts is how much money is spent and how well it is spent.

For many years, U.S. government officials have repeatedly asserted that the DPRK spends twenty percent or more of its GNP on the military, with some citing figures as high as twenty-four to twenty-six percent.<sup>37</sup> Yet the ACDA publications reveal a different story. The North Korean percentage hovered around twenty percent in the early part of the 1970s, but averaged eleven percent in the five-year period 1975-1979, declining each year from 1976 to 1979, and hitting a low of 9.2 percent in 1979. ACDA's original estimate for 1980 of 8.2 percent was revised to 19.4 percent. The percent has fallen each year since then to 16.7 percent in 1983.<sup>38</sup>

As is the case with overall military spending, authoritative non-governmental sources call into question the high figures cited by the U.S. government on North Korea's percentage of the GNP spent on the military. The IISS estimates the North Korean percentage in 1983 at 9.6, the South Korean at 5.7.<sup>39</sup> For 1984 it estimates 10.2 percent for the DPRK and 5.4 percent for the ROK.<sup>40</sup> SIPRI's latest estimates are 12.3 percent for North Korea in 1983 and 5.1 percent for South Korea in 1984.<sup>41</sup>

ACDA shows the South Korean percentage of GNP growing steadily from 3.8 percent in 1973 to 6.2 percent in 1981, then falling to 5.8 percent in 1983.<sup>42</sup> That compares to 6.6 percent for the United States, 5.8 percent for all developing nations, 3.9 percent for European NATO, and 3.5 percent for all of Asia.<sup>43</sup>

U.S. officials have recently started claiming that North Korea spends a larger percent of its GNP on the military than any other country in the world,<sup>44</sup> but other sources list at least ten that spend more, including U.S. allies Israel, Saudi Arabia and Oman.

There are other measurements of the military burden on a nation besides percent of GNP. Two of the most common are percentage of central government expenditures (CGE) spent on the military and per capita military spending. According to ACDA, during the past ten years (1974-1983) South Korea spent an average of twenty-nine percent of its CGE on the military compared to twenty-three percent for North Korea. The revised ACDA estimates show the DPRK at 29.7 percent in 1982 and the ROK at 27.9 percent in 1983.<sup>45</sup> The CIA estimates that South Korea will spend 31.2 percent of its central government budget on the military in 1986.<sup>46</sup>

Although South Korea's population is more than twice that of North Korea, it began to catch up to North Korea in yearly per capita military spending in the late 1970s. The IISS data shows the South exceeding the North for the first time in 1978, with the gap growing to \$110 versus \$100 in 1983.<sup>47</sup> ACDA's revised estimates show the Northern expenditure significantly larger (\$179 vs. \$109 in 1983).<sup>48</sup>

#### •Who's Fooling Whom?

It is obvious that while North Korea invested more in its military in the first half of the 1970s, the South has outspent it by an even greater margin in the latter half of that decade and in the 1980s. The important question then becomes why U.S. and Korean officials continue to speak of the growing threat from the North and the increasing gap in North/South military capabilities. There are several possible answers, none very pleasing to contemplate. Perhaps the North spends its money more wisely, getting "more bang for the buck." Perhaps the North's military industries are more efficient. Perhaps the South's procurement strategy of fewer but more modern (and expensive) weapons systems is incorrect. Perhaps the larger portion of the South's military budget spent on personnel and other non-hardware costs is not leading to better trained, more effective soldiers and a superior military establishment.

More likely, there is no increasing gap in North/South military capabilities. Talk of such a gap may be nothing more than a tactic used by U.S. officials to justify the continued extensive military involvement of the United States on the peninsula, the presence of forty thousand U.S. soldiers, and rising military aid requests for South Korea. The United States does not want to upset the status quo on the peninsula. It wants to make sure that its troops remain there as part of its forward deployment strategy. It wants to make sure that the friendly government in Seoul remains in power. A good way to insure that is to convince Congress and the U.S. public of the threat from the North.

#### Force Comparisons

It has been demonstrated that South Korea spends more on its military than North Korea and has for many years. South Korea has a superior domestic military production capability and it imports more weapons. As we now turn to a comparison of the military forces of North and South Korea, it will be seen that the DPRK does indeed have very large, very capable armed forces. North Korea's military strength proportionate to its size and population is matched by few countries in the world. Israel and Taiwan may be the only other candidates for that distinction. The size and strength of North Korea's forces cannot be denied. Often passed over in the United States, however, are the advantages that South Korea possesses—advantages which make it highly unlikely that North Korea could successfully attack the South, or have sufficient confidence even to make the attempt. South Korean forces today, particularly if U.S. air and naval reinforcements are added in, are strong enough to deter and if necessary defeat a North Korean invasion force. As the International Institute for Strategic Studies put it in the 1985-86 edition of *The Military Balance*, "The opposing forces on the Korean peninsula are roughly equivalent. Neither is capable of a successful major offensive against the other without significant foreign assistance."<sup>49</sup>

#### Manpower

North Korea's regular armed forces now number 838,000, compared to 598,000 for South Korea—an advantage of 240,000 people, or forty percent.<sup>50</sup> The South's regular armed forces outnumbered the North's until 1978, but DPRK troops have expanded considerably since then while ROK troops number about the same.<sup>51</sup>

The North's numerical superiority is mostly in ground forces, where it has an advantage of 750,000 to 520,000. The North also has an advantage in air forces of 53,000 to 33,000. The North has 35,000 naval forces, while the South has 23,000 navy men and 22,000 marines.<sup>52</sup>

There is a strange inconsistency in U.S. government figures on North Korean troop levels and military spending. They show North Korea's manpower holding steady during the first half of the 1970s when DPRK military spending was rapidly rising, then show manpower greatly expanding in the late 1970s when DPRK military spending was falling. In fact, ACDA's data shows North Korean manpower rising by only seventy thousand during the six-year period from 1971 to 1977, then jumping by 112,000 from 1977 to 1978.<sup>53</sup>

In wartime, North Korea's advantage in regular armed forces may be offset by South Korea's edge in reserves and para-military forces. The South has a very large advantage in all services in well-trained, first-line reserve forces. The ROK's reserves are estimated between 1.24 and 1.5 million; the DPRK's between 270,000 and 540,000.<sup>54</sup>

The South's ground force reserves number 1.1 to 1.4 million, the North's 230,000 to 500,000. The South's naval and marine reserves number about 85,000, the North's forty thousand. The South has about 55,000 air force reserves; the North has none.<sup>55</sup>

Besides well-trained reserves, both nations have enormous numbers of para-military forces—people who have received some military training, but are not integrated into the regular military establishment. South Korea has about 7.4 million para-military forces: a 3.5 million Civilian Defense Corps, a 3.3 million Homeland Reserve Forces, and a 600,000 Student National Defense Corps.<sup>56</sup>

Estimates of North Korean para-military forces vary widely. Analysts agree that there is a 38,000-man security force, but numbers on the Workers, Farmers and Youth Red Guard vary from 1.76 million to 3.7 million.<sup>57</sup>

In a long war, South Korea's larger population (43.3 million vs. 20.5 million) would prove a big advantage. South Korea presently has 8.1 million males fit for military service compared to 2.9 million for the North. More over, the South has a total of 464,000 males reaching age for military service each year, compared to 260,000 for the North.<sup>58</sup>

With people as with weapons, it is not just raw numbers that count. It is generally accepted that South Korea's forces are better trained than their northern counterparts. ROK leadership and experience are other important pluses. North Korean forces have not fought in over three decades, while South Korean troops had extensive combat experience fighting alongside U.S. forces in Vietnam.



# 6 South Korean Students Held on Political Charges

By SUSAN CHIRA

Special to The New York Times

SEOUL, South Korea, Aug. 25 — Six students, including one of the most prominent student leaders in the country, were taken into custody today in the most politically significant arrests since the Government announced sweeping democratic initiatives two months ago.

The police arrested Woo Sang Ho, the 24-year-old chairman of the student council of Yonsei University, on charges of violating South Korea's law on assembly and demonstrations. The police said he would also be charged with the serious crime of slandering the state for making "undesirable statements," including one to The New York Times in which Mr. Woo compared South Korea's Government to that of Nazi Germany.

See page 62 for Woo's 8/2/87 interview

# REPRESSION IN THE NAME OF NATIONAL SECURITY

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

## SOUTH KOREA ACTS TO ARREST CRITIC

By SUSAN CHIRA

Special to The New York Times

TOKYO, Oct. 16 — The South Korean Government moved to arrest an opposition lawmaker tonight, in a step that could dampen chances of a compromise on the crucial issue of constitutional revision.

According to reports reaching Tokyo, South Korea's legislature voted late tonight to allow the Government to arrest an opposition lawmaker for remarks that the Government contends violated its strict national security laws.

The vote came after hours of tumult in the National Assembly. An estimated 1,000 policemen entered the legislature's building this evening and barred opposition party members from entering the hall where the vote was taken. They acted at the request of the Speaker of the Assembly, who had called them in after opposition party members physically blocked him from entering the hall and presiding over the vote.

October 17, 1986

### Confront Over a Speech

At this time of increasing tensions, the case of the opposition lawmaker, Yoo Sung Hwan, takes on added importance. The Government-controlled press has quoted Mr. Yoo as saying during a parliamentary session: "The policy of this nation should be unification rather than anti-Communism."

His comments provoked boos and catcalls from the ruling party, and the National Assembly session was suspended for the day. The Government later announced it intended to prosecute Mr. Yoo under the national security law, which carries a maximum seven-year jail term. The Government said that Mr. Yoo's remarks were similar to the stance taken by radical students and that they echoed North Korean propaganda.

Mr. Yoo was placed under house arrest on Wednesday and the police requested a warrant for his arrest. But because Mr. Yoo is an elected member of the legislature, a judge ruled that the Government needed legislative permission to revoke his parliamentary immunity in order to arrest him. The prosecution is maintaining, however, that Mr. Yoo's remarks are not protected by parliamentary privilege because he distributed copies of his speech to reporters.

WE DECLARE ONCE AGAIN!  
(abridged translation)  
June 2, 1986

(Signed by 265 professors  
from 23 universities)

### Excerpts

5. We protest against the black-and-white rhetoric that makes accusations against those who oppose foreign powers in Korea; it is hardly just to call such people anti-state or pro-communist subversives for they aim, on the one hand, at protecting us against attempts to perpetuate the division of the Korean peninsula in collaboration with foreign interests, against strategies that cynically maintain a conservative regime as a bulwark against communism in Northeast Asia, and against the threat to our nation's future and our people's survival in the form of nuclear weapons deployed on Korean soil. On the other hand, they express the just protest against unjust intervention by foreign powers which damages our national dignity, as in the Kwangju incident. In this respect, we highly value the motivations of this protest movement.

### THE CAMPUS SITUATION

16. The student movements today do not necessarily result from a transitional period in the economic take-off (with US\$2,000 per capita income) or originate from a grave misunderstanding of modern Korean history, as asserted by the ruling party leader. They represent the massive explosion of internal and external contradictions accumulated in our living situation since the liberation of Korea. In addition, they contain a severe

critique of our university education which is compelled to produce intellectual technocrats of a colonialistic mentality in service to our nation as a mere bulwark of the anti-communistic world power front.

17. The harder the political oppression, the more furious the protest movements of students. Instead of one-sidedly blaming the student movements as dangerously radical, the freedom of critique in our society should be allowed by loosening the prohibitions in dealing with political ideologies. Therefore, we do not accept the political, tactical measures which excessively blame radical actions of our students without analyzing in depth the reasons for their radicalism. We believe that, in reality, the renewal of our society is the best remedy for the radicalism.

18. Likewise, we believe that the best measure for fighting leftist ideologies is to be given the freedom to make their basic ideas and realities known as they are. The freedom of study and discussion of the leftist ideologies, which until now has been the monopoly of governmental authorities and their own institutions, should also be allowed on the university campuses. We do not agree with the assertions that such an academic move itself may result in anti-state subversives at the cost of national security.

# Jailed South Korean Dissident

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1987

The Washington Post

By Fred Hiatt  
Washington Post Foreign Service

SEOUL, Oct. 1—A prominent South Korean dissident, jailed for the past two years, today received the Robert F. Kennedy human rights award, underscoring the imprisonment of scores of political activists as the country proceeds toward its first free presidential election in 16 years.

Kim Keun Tae, 40, and his wife, In Jae Keun, won the award for their "long commitment to the quest for human rights and their unflinching determination to defend their fellow citizens who have been tortured, jailed and often killed for speaking out," according to Lee Fentress, chairman of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial. Fentress spoke in Washington.

According to credible reports, Kim has been beaten and tortured repeatedly.

Opposition politicians have demanded the release of Kim and more than 100 others whom they describe as political prisoners.

Arrests for what the government considers to be improper thoughts are continuing even as the country moves toward democracy. A 22-year-old university student here was arrested 10 days ago for possessing an 18-page booklet praising North Korea.

But President Chun Doo Hwan and his deputies, who freed hundreds of prisoners in early July as part of a promised democratization, have said that remaining prisoners, including Kim, are dangerous leftists who should not be released.

# Wins U.S. Rights Award

Their firmness reflects a conviction that, with a hostile and heavily armed North Korea only 30 miles from Seoul, leftist thought and speech can be as dangerous as espionage or revolutionary acts.

"In a democratic society, of course, a variety of voices is natural," the English-language Korea Herald editorialized two weeks ago, reflecting the government view.

"Yet, we must discern which ones are intolerable as they threaten our survival . . . We must protect the innocent from falling prey to agitators whose goal is to undermine our liberal democracy."

The police announced last month that they had placed about 8,000 members of 24 student and dissident groups under special watch, suspecting them of planning a "popular uprising" timed with the election. Some of those under surveillance already have been arrested.

Kim Keun Tae was arrested in 1985 for organizing and attending meetings "feared to cause common unrest."

He also was charged with saying things that resembled North Korean propaganda, which is a crime in South Korea.

Kim was a Seoul National University student leader in the early 1970s and then spent most of that decade in hiding, working and organizing in factories.

In 1983 he founded the National Youth Alliance for Democracy, dedicated to democratization, reunification of Korea and a fairer distribution of wealth. He was ar-

rested Sept. 4, 1985, and held incommunicado in the police station for two weeks.

As he was being transferred to another jail, he encountered his wife by chance and told her he had been tortured.

Despite repeated requests, the prosecutors and courts refused to allow a medical examination to test Kim's claims.

At one point, guards confiscated a scab he had saved as proof. Kim said in court that he was tortured repeatedly with electric shocks and beatings.

"The police forced me to surrender," he said at his trial in December. "They said they were going to break me, and that is exactly what they did."

"By Sept. 20, I was covered all over with wounds and couldn't stand any more," he continued. "At last, on Sept. 25, I gave in to them. In groups, they beat me up and asked me to beg for my life by crawling on the floor naked. I did what I was told."

South Korean officials have said they do not engage in torture except in a few cases of police wrongdoing. But numerous reports have surfaced, including that of a student who died in police custody early this year.

The most recent example involves a Korean resident of Japan, Shim Han Sik, whose conviction for violating the National Security Act was upheld by the South Korean Supreme Court yesterday.

The court suspended his sentence, however, and found him not guilty of espionage after ruling that his confession had been coerced.

KOREA HERALD

## Prosecution may summon MAY 10, 1987 Kim Y.S. for disputed remarks After current Assembly ends May 13

The prosecution is carefully considering summoning Kim Young-sam, president of the opposition Reunification Democratic Party (RDP), to question him over controversial remarks contained in his inaugural speech and the party's platform.

A prosecution source said Saturday that the need to question the opposition leader is increasing as three organizations and two persons have lodged complaints with the prosecution regarding remarks he made not only in his inaugural speech on May 1 but also in previous speeches.

The legal procedure requires that those who filed the complaints be summoned to the prosecution before Kim is called to testify, the source said.

The source said a summons will be sent to Kim, if necessary, probably after the current extraordinary National Assembly session ends on May 13.

In his speech, the leader of the nation's largest opposition party compared a presidential election under the current Constitution to North Korean elections and the 1988 Seoul Olympics to the 1936 Berlin Olympics under the Nazis.

The party platform stipulates that unification should be the supreme national goal, which conflicts with the government assertion that safeguarding the liberal democratic system must be the paramount national task.

KOREA HERALD

## Colleges asked to deny research fund to signers of political statements

Ministry of Education has recently instructed colleges and universities to deny research fund to the professors who signed controversial statements this year on touchy state issues, it was learned Saturday. 6/29/86

## PART III- SIGNS OF HOPE

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## PART III - SIGNS OF HOPE

### Discussion Questions

1. In 1972 the ROK and the DPRK signed a joint communique. There was little progress on unification for over a decade after 1972. What are the three main points? How relevant are these points today?
2. Like other visitors to the D.P.R.K., the September/October 1984 American Friends Service Committee peace delegation was impressed with the accomplishments of the north Koreans since the Korean War and their desire for peace. What are some of their accomplishments and values? (pp. 30-33) The giving and receiving of relief supplies for the flood victims in Seoul (p.33) created an atmosphere which led to talks on trade and family reunions. In order to continue the talks in an atmosphere of peace, north Korea asked that the U.S./ROK military exercises Team Spirit be postponed. Team Spirit continued and the talks broke off. What kind of attitude is necessary to have progress in peace talks? What does former Ambassador William Gleysteen say about Team Spirit in his article "Korea: Asian Paradox"? (p.67)
3. In 1985 a limited number of south Korean and north Korean separated family members were able to cross the DMZ. (pp. 12 and 34) After a brief reunion they had to part not knowing if they would ever see one another again. Some people have suggested that reunification will have to be postponed until those who fought against each other are dead. How important are family connections in helping to promote reconciliation? How much longer will these ties exist?
4. Though the U.S. government has labeled north Korea one of the most closed societies in the world, north Korea has allowed over a thousand Korean Americans to visit north Korea to see their families. They have allowed selected U.S. scholars, journalists, government officials and church and peace groups to visit the DPRK. Requests for U.S. visas for north Koreans have been denied with the exception of three scholars in 1985. What could the U.S. do to show good will?
5. For decades south Korean Christians believed the church in north Korea had been wiped out. What have we learned about Christians in north Korea from the World Council of Churches delegation and the two NCCC-USA delegations that visited north Korea? (pp.35-42)
6. In 1986 Christians from north and south were able to meet in Glion, Switzerland. After years of mistrust, how did this breakthrough come about? What hope is shared by Christians north and south? (pp. 43-45)
7. Both north and south governments make proposals. (pp. 46-47) Both sides make a practice of declaring the other side insincere. What will be necessary to have any progress?
8. China has significant unofficial trade with south Korea. (p.48) and is interested in promoting a better relationship between north Korea and the U.S. What prevents the U.S. from trading with north Korea? Is the friendly relationship between China and the U.S. an improvement over our past relationship of enmity? How? Does this give us any hope for a new relationship with north Korea?

# THE NORTH-SOUTH PEACE AGREEMENT OF JULY 4th, 1972

The three main points of the Communique read as follows:

The two sides have agreed to the following three principles for unification of the fatherland:

First, unification shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without being subject to external imposition or interference.

Second, unification shall be achieved through peaceful means, and not through the use of force against each other.

Third, as a homogeneous people, a great national unity shall be sought above all, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies, and systems.

The Communique further agreed upon these points and ended as follows:

1. In order to ease tensions and foster an atmosphere of mutual trust between the south and the north, the two sides have agreed not to slander or defame each other, not to undertake armed provocations, whether on a large or small scale, and to take positive measures to prevent inadvertent military incidents.
2. The two sides, in order to restore severed national ties, to promote mutual understanding, and to expedite independent peaceful unification, have agreed to carry out various exchanges in many fields.
3. The two sides have agreed to cooperate positively with each other to seek an early success of the South-North Red Cross talks, which are underway, with the fervent expectations of the entire people.
4. The two sides, in order to prevent the outbreak of unexpected military incidents and to deal directly, promptly and accurately with problems arising between the south and north, have agreed to install direct telephone lines between Seoul and P'yongyang.
5. The two sides, in order to implement the aforementioned agreed items, solve various problems existing between the south and north, and to settle the unification problem on the basis of the agreed principles for unification of the Fatherland, have agreed to establish and operate a South-North Coordinating Committee co-chaired by Director Fu Rak Lee and Director Young Joo Kim.
6. The two sides, firmly convinced that the aforementioned agreed items correspond with the common aspirations of the entire people, who are anxious to see an early unification of the Fatherland, hereby solemnly pledge before the entire Korean people that they will faithfully carry out these agreed items.

This Communique signed by:

*Lee Fu-rak*

Director, South Korean Central Intelligence Agency,

*Kim Young-joo,*

Director, North Korean Organization and Guidance  
Department of the Workers Party

July 4, 1972<sup>13</sup>

# A VISIT TO NORTH KOREA

DOROTHY L. OGLE

One country  
about which  
Americans know  
little is North Korea.  
Here is a  
glimpse of that  
country, based on  
a recent visit.

From my earliest days as a Methodist missionary in South Korea I became aware of the pain of families separated by the artificial division of their country, and I heard the prayers for "tong il", unification. But many Christians had fled to the South, fearing that they would lose their freedom to worship in the communist North. They had great concern about what reunification might mean for their rapidly growing churches.

During the fifteen years I lived in South Korea I watched the dramatic industrialization along with the militarization of the country. We were constantly reminded of the miseries of the life in North Korea as well as the great threat of another invasion. We had no realistic idea of what life in North Korea was like, for there was no communication at all—not a visit or even a letter. People in the South do not even know if their family members in the North are still alive.

How excited I was to have the rare opportunity to visit North Korea for two weeks as a member of the American Friends Service Committee 1984 peace delegation. I brought many questions to this trip—so many questions that my guide frequently told me that if I didn't stop asking questions we wouldn't get home until midnight.

As our plane prepared to land in North Korea we viewed the beautiful rice fields ready to harvest, the extensive irrigation system and the orderly farms we would later have an opportunity to visit. At the Pyongyang airport there was a band and hundreds of people waving flowers to welcome a delegation of the Japanese Socialist Party also travelling on our plane. We noticed the large picture of Kim Il Sung over the airport and the slogan, "Long live the Great Leader Comrade Kim Il Sung". We would find these pictures

in every room and similar slogans on just about every building.

After ten years of disuse, my Korean language was rusty, but I was quite relieved to find that the Korean spoken in Pyongyang was like the standard Korean I learned in Seoul. One change I noticed was the absence of low talk, traditionally used by a superior to a person in a lower position. I also noticed there was very little bowing. A child about to perform gives a salute-like wave of the arm instead of the traditional bow. I was constantly impressed with the oneness of the Korean people—one history and the same customs, food and clothes.

During our stay in Pyongyang we stayed at the Potonggang Hotel for foreigners where we had comfortable rooms and ate delicious Korean food in a large dining room. Among the other guests were a Russian dance troupe, the president of the Korea-Austria Friendship Association and a Swedish man who had come with the United Nations Development Program. The hotel was located on the banks of the Potong River. We were told that before liberation this area was the poorest in the city because of the flooding which took place every year. Now it had been transformed into a lovely manmade river where people were fishing and boating.

Having heard that previous delegations had not been allowed to go out without their guide, we asked if we could take a walk. We were told that since we had a visa we could go anywhere we liked. Though a tight schedule left little free time, we had many short unaccompanied walks in Pyongyang, Kaesong and Mt. Myohyang and a long walk out into the residential neighborhood when mothers on their way home from work were picking up their children.

Reprinted from  
NEW WORLD OUTLOOK  
February 1985

(Top) Author Dorothy Ogle (third from left) and members of the delegation tour a children's palace; (center) Three members of a Christian worship group in an apartment; (bottom) school girls on the streets of Pyongyang.

### A Completely New City

Since Pyongyang was almost totally destroyed by the Korean War, it is now a completely new modern city with wide streets, beautiful plazas with many statues, huge monuments and fountains, high-rise apartment buildings, shops and large department stores, schools, huge modern public buildings many with oriental style roofs, stadiums, an ice-hockey rink and even an amusement park with a double loop roller coaster. During working hours there were almost no people on the streets or in the museums. Before and after work and on Sundays the scene changed, but never did we see many cars or even bicycles. Most people walked, and those who had to go further rode the electric busses or subway. There was no obvious military presence and few police other than a few traffic policemen. Kim Il Sung says his policy is to use persuasion rather than force.

### Education Given Priority

The pen has been added to the hammer and sickle as tools of the revolution. First priority is given to education, and the purpose of that education is to mold the human being. After the Korean War the first factory was a pencil factory and schools were the first buildings built.

Eleven years of compulsory education include kindergarten, four years of elementary school and six years of senior middle school. There is a plan that in the future compulsory education will include university or trade school for everyone.

Children in North Korea are considered kings—the future of the nation. In order to build a well-rounded person every student should have a good background in at least one musical instrument, one sport, and one technical subject. In the schools and "palaces" provided for these extra-curricular activities we were impressed by the superior equipment and the skill and talents of the students. At a farm kindergarten we were entertained on the piano by a very talented four-year-old daughter of a tractor driver.

Throughout North Korea there is free medical care for everyone, with



the basic health care unit at the school, work place or neighborhood clinic. Each person has his own doctor who makes house calls when necessary. A continuous health record is maintained throughout a person's life. If surgery is needed or if there is a complicated problem people are referred to a regular or specialty hospital. Preventive health care is stressed, including one-hundred-percent immunizations, good nutrition and good dental care. This has resulted in a low infant mortality rate and an increased life span. The health plan includes health complexes for bathing and exercise, restaurants, amusement parks, holiday homes and sports and entertainment facilities.

The extended family is still very strong, and old people are taken care of by the family. There is almost no divorce, and the guide at the Pyongyang Maternity Hospital told us that in twenty years he had never seen an unwed mother.

In the city and the country new housing is being constructed continuously and provided for very small rent. Those who have lived in old housing the longest have first priority. There is not as much variety of consumer goods available as one would find in South Korea, but there appears to be plenty of all types of necessities for all of the people.

#### A House Church Meeting

On Sunday we and our guides visited a house church meeting in a high-rise apartment building. The worshipers included an elder who lived in the apartment, the Rev. Mr. Ko who heads the North Korean Christian Federation, the Rev. Mr. Kim who preached the sermon, two other men and six women. After a brief greeting we sat around the room on cushions, passed out the New Testaments and hymnbooks which had been published in Pyongyang in 1983, and began the formal worship service which included prayers, hymns, Scripture reading (Matthew 5: 14-16 and Philippians 2:15), and a sermon on the text, "let us become the light of the world."

After the worship there was a fellowship time where we were served drinks and cookies. Mr. Ko talked to us

about the situation of the Christian Church in North Korea. He told us that before the war there had been 1400 churches and 120,000 believers in North Korea, but during the war all the churches were destroyed by U.S. bombs. Many Christians were killed while praying in their churches. Then because the United States threatened to drop a nuclear bomb, many more Christians fled to the South, and many died on the way. After the war there were so few Christians left that they had no interest in rebuilding churches. They were quite satisfied with meeting in homes as they had started to do during the war. Now they meet in small groups throughout the country. Most of the people are elderly and there are only seventeen pastors.

I shared with the group a small picture album of our family in South Korea and I talked about the growing church there. I brought up the South Korean Christians' concern that if there were reunification, they might lose their freedom to worship. The people laughed at this, and we wondered if their laughter meant, "There is nothing to worry about" or if it meant, "Yes, we know why they are worried." Mr. Ko assured us that freedom of worship was built into their constitution. We were told that Christians had held government positions including the Vice-President of the country who died last year.

They gave each of us a New Testament and a hymnbook, and I gave them a tape of the Incheon Elders Choir.

Buddhism, though not practiced by large numbers of people, appears to be more acceptable as a part of historical Korea. It was the state religion during the Koryo Dynasty and is associated with patriotism and fighting for freedom against the Japanese. Therefore its temples are restored and preserved by the government as national treasures. In addition to the monks who practice their religion at the temple, the government pays researchers. The monks meditate in the temples and visit in homes. They are frequently invited to funerals but don't have weddings any more. There are about three hundred monks who meet together periodically in Pyongyang, and the Buddhist Federation has ex-

changes with Buddhists in South East Asian countries.

#### People "Not Interested" in Religion

Frequently we were told that people were not interested in religion because they have everything they need. The most dramatic illustration of this point of view was made by an irrigation specialist proudly showing us his project. He said that in the past people used to pray to the gods for rain, and when no rain came the crops failed. Now, thanks to the Beloved Leader President Kim Il Sung, they had built this irrigation project and were always assured of water for a good harvest.





“ We could feel on both sides  
the pain of the divided country. ”

It seems that Kim Il Sung has taken the place of religion for the North Koreans. They give him thanks for everything. Their songs and art praise him. Everywhere there are slogans honoring him; his picture is in every room; each person wears a Kim Il Sung button. Murals picture him with his arms around the children. It appears that they feel he is their wise and caring father.

Everyone studies Juche, Kim Il Sung's philosophy which teaches independence in ideology and politics and self-reliance in economics and the military.

At a lecture on Juche, I asked if religion was incompatible with Juche. The answer was that both atheists and believers were interested in Juche. Religion is not incompatible with Juche if it advocates independence, opposes oppression and domination, and if it demands equality, harmony, cooperation and love between persons and nations.

#### What Does the Trip Mean?

What does the experience of this trip mean to me as an American Christian?

**A truck driver in a convoy of relief supplies from North to South Korea cheered by people on the streets of Pyongyang.**



I am finding it difficult to report the good things I saw in North Korea because some persons in the U.S. become quite upset. By the same token, our hosts in North Korea, who courteously listened to my difficult questions and disagreements, were silent when I made any comment about the accomplishments of South Koreans. It is quite disturbing to think of "the enemy" doing anything good.

I do not think of North Korea as a utopia. A two week guided tour cannot allow me to see the problems of a country in the same way that living in South Korea for fifteen years brought us into the middle of a human rights struggle.

In North Korea we were told that every person works eight hours a day six days a week. The life of a farmer or construction worker must be very difficult, and we have no idea what kinds of pressures are put on people or what kinds of punishments they might face if they disagree with the regimented program of work and study they are expected to follow. There is much we do not know, but there was much we could see, and there are many things we could feel.

#### The Pain of a Divided Country

Standing at Panmunjom looking at the great division, we could feel for both sides the pain of the divided country. We could see the huge concrete wall which has been built across the peninsula on the South side of the DMZ, and we heard the North Koreans lament that the U.S. has built a wall so that even the animals cannot cross. We saw only American soldiers on the South side of the DMZ, and we felt strange as they set up their big cameras to take our pictures. Since there are no foreign troops in North Korea we can see that they feel threatened by the presence of 40,000 U.S. troops, nuclear weapons and "Team Spirit Maneuvers".

South Koreans also feel threatened. Both sides would be destroyed if there were ever another war. I believe the North Koreans claim that they do not want reunification by force. Remembering the destruction of the Korean War they point out a building under construction and say, "One bomb would destroy that building."

#### Experiences of Hope

There were several experiences which gave us hope. One of the highlights of the trip was meeting a Korean American pastor who was on our plane to Pyongyang to be reunited with a sister he had not seen for thirty-five years. We shared his great anticipation and his great anxiety over an unexpected delay caused by two of his five suitcases being misrouted to Tokyo. At last toward the end of our visit we were able to share his great joy at his family reunion.

Another moving experience was standing out in the streets of Pyongyang watching the parade of trucks loaded with relief supplies for the flood victims of South Korea. In pouring rain people lined the streets cheering and waving flowers. Many were weeping to think of having some contact with their brothers and sisters in the South. This would be the first time any goods would cross the line since the war. Relief supplies had been offered by both sides in the past but had never been accepted.

Recent history had taken North and South Korea down very different paths, and there are many obstacles to be overcome if the dream of reunification were to take place. But they have much to gain from each other, and too much to lose if they continue to put their resources into fighting each other. Negotiations will not be any easier when the next generation can no longer remember any ties.

What about the relationship between North Korea and the United States? North Korea has opened its doors to American scholars, church delegations and Korean Americans wishing to be reunited with their families. Our State Department has refused to give a visa to any North Korean. We could at least start to open the door for trade and exchanges which would promote better and more truthful understanding between North Korea and the United States. What do we have to lose? ■

Dorothy L. Ogle, a former missionary in the Republic of Korea, now lives in the Washington, D.C., area.

# North, South Koreans Embrace Kin for First Time in Decades

By Young H. Lee  
Special to The Washington Post

SEOUL, Sept. 21—An elderly South Korean woman gazed in bewilderment at the North Korean man in the dark suit seated before her.

"Mother, it is me, your son," he told her. She said nothing. She said nothing. "You remember this scar on my eye," he continued, pointing to it. "You tried so hard to cure it. Please touch it and remember."

For this divided Korean family and 34 others, more than three decades of waiting and wondering ended today. They were brought together again in emotional reunions in Seoul and the North's capital, Pyongyang, in the first family visits between North and South since the Korean War.

Sponsored by the two sides' Red Cross societies, the visits were the most tangible and dramatic results of a detente that has been unfolding slowly for the past year on the militarily tense Korean peninsula.

About 10 million of Korea's 60 million people have immediate family across the Demilitarized Zone, which separates the two intensely hostile societies. Until today, the isolation was all but total—no letters, phone calls, visits or news of any kind could be exchanged.

Fifteen families were reunited for two hours in Seoul in a ballroom in the Sheraton Walker Hill Hotel. Seated at round tables, parents and children, brothers and sisters clasped hands and tried to catch up on more than 30 years of family events.

"It has been so painful. I have missed you for so long," said Oh Suk Hee, a North Korean mining ministry official, in a voice cracking with emotion. With him sat his 76-



After 36 years, Yoo Myo Sul, 83, is reunited with her North Korean son, Suh Hyun Suk, 54, at a hotel in Seoul.

year-old father, Oh Chang Keun. They had last seen one another during the 1950-53 Korean War in the town of Yongin, 30 miles south of Seoul.

"It's so good to be alive to see you," the elder Oh said. His son inquired about his mother and was told that she was ill and unable to come.

At another table, a 61-year-old Seoul woman, Lee Ki Suk, embraced her brother, 58-year-old Pyongyang factory manager Lee Young Jae, and gave him the news that their mother had died 17 years ago.

The visitors were part of a 151-member North Korean delegation

that arrived in Seoul Friday while 151 South Koreans went to Pyongyang. Both delegations will return home on Monday.

Fifty of the North Koreans were former residents of Seoul. South Korean officials said that living relatives of only 30 of them could be located. Of those, 15 were reunited today. The other 15 are expected to see their families on Sunday.

This afternoon, the 50 members of a North Korean folk art troupe that was part of the delegation gave a 90-minute performance in Seoul's national theater. An audience of about 1,500, mostly officials and other dignitaries, responded with

polite applause to their renditions of fan and sword dancing and songs.

In Pyongyang, a southern art troupe performed, and 20 southerners met with family members at the city's Koryo Hotel today. A report from the North's official news agency, monitored in Tokyo, said, "The place of reunion is overflowing with warm, kindred sentiments."

One of the southerners is Daniel Tji, a Catholic archbishop and prominent human rights campaigner who is a former Pyongyang resident. There he met and embraced a sister and for the first time met her husband and two sons.

In the Seoul meetings, some of



Archbishop Daniel Tji of South Korea is reunited with his sister in Pyongyang.

the North Koreans wore lapel buttons bearing the image of their president, Kim Il Sung, a standard adornment in their society. But generally the two sides steered clear of overt politicking.

Discord was never far below the surface, however. The two sides argued in the morning over a place for the meetings. The South called for an initial public session, with private meetings in the visitors' rooms to follow. The North wanted them in closed rooms from the start but relented.

In places, the reunion underlined the political differences between the two societies. In one incident

reported from Pyongyang, two brothers met. The southerner thanked God; the northerner thanked Kim Il Sung.

There is no guarantee that the relatives will ever see each other again or be able to communicate. Red Cross negotiators have yet to reach agreement for further visits or for the reopening of mail and telephone service.

More than 1 million troops face each other across the Demilitarized Zone. Despite this tension, the two sides are conducting a dialogue that encompasses humanitarian, economic and sports cooperation, as well as talks among legislators.

ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTOS

# North Korean Christians

Reaching out to share common Christian faith in an ecumenical visit to a house church in Pyongyang

As our Mercedes Benz limousine approached the entrance of an apartment building overlooking the Taedong river, we passed by a number of large mounds of discarded cabbage leaves. Our escorts showed some embarrassment, for this contrasted sharply with the impeccably clean streets of Pyongyang, proud capital of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) as North Korea is officially called.

"November is the season for making *kimchi*," explained our interpreter. We had already become familiar with that boldly spiced dish of fermented and preserved Korean celery cabbage — a national favourite and one of the host of cultural staples shared by the Korean people in both halves of this tragically divided peninsula. "The refuse will be transported to farms outside the city to be used as feed for livestock," he added, underlining as he had done several times before that North Korea is totally self-sufficient in basic food products.

Our arrival at the modest entrance door

attracted some discreet attention. Private automobiles do not exist in North Korea. The young woman who operated the narrow elevator averted her eyes from the intimidating collection of foreigners and local officials who had intruded on her private domain. She was seated under a calendar depicting favourite North Korean film stars, reading a journal which she set down on a tiny desk as she pressed the button for the twelfth floor.

The interpreter glanced at his watch as someone joked about the appropriateness of the top floor location for a church. We were excessively late for Sunday morning worship, which traditionally begins, as in so many parts of the world, at 11:00 a.m. We had spent the morning at the headquarters of the Korean Christian Federation, learning a great deal about the remnant of Christianity in a country almost totally cut off from the outside world for nearly forty years.

On the first official visit to North Korea ever undertaken by the World Council of Churches, we were forgiven for upsetting carefully arranged schedules by asking innumerable questions, especially when we had the rare opportunity to encounter fellow Christians.

Before the Korean war, we were told, there were some 120,000 Christians living in what is now the DPRK. There were 1400 church buildings, as well as theological

institutes and Bible schools. In Pyongyang alone, there were 20,000 Christians out of a population of 400,000, worshipping in 70 churches.

The predominant denominations had been the Presbyterian and the Methodist, who were more firmly rooted in the North. The Roman Catholic Church had been stronger in the South, with only about 10,000 believers and 50 churches in the North.

But this was before the brutal and fratricidal war that left more than five million families divided, without the means even to know whether relatives on the other side are alive or dead.

Today, neither churches nor denominations exist in the North. The total number of Christians is difficult to estimate. Previous visitors have reported being given the number of 5000. We were told there could be as many as 10,000. Perhaps only half that number still practise their faith regularly. Roman Catholics appear to have dwindled to a mere 800 adherents.

What was the reason for this drastic reduction in the number of believers? The incompatible answers given to this question in the two parts of Korea illustrate the extent to which historical memory itself has taken a divided pathway.

The conviction strongly held in the South is that North Korean Christianity was effectively eliminated by Communist authorities. Stories abound of atrocities, purges and concentration camps. The trauma of personal tragedy is still very present for many among the older generation.

The reason consistently given in the North is as follows: The systematic bombardment of North Korean cities in American air raids during the Korean war accounts for the fact that all church buildings were destroyed. Many Christians, believing that a Christian country like the US would not bomb churches, perished when they took refuge in these buildings. The majority of Christians, however, fled to the South. Along with many others, they feared the atomic bomb which the US threatened to use against the North.

The entrance of the flat we arrived in seemed to swarm with people greeting us, taking our coats and requiring us, according to custom, to take off our shoes. As we were ushered inside, however, the three-bedroom apartment housing our host's five-member family proved quite spacious. North Koreans pay no rent. All housing comes equipped with modest but efficient furniture, complete with refrigerator, stove and television.

One bedroom had been emptied for the

Christians in North Korea see worship in their homes as a link with the experience of the early church of New Testament times.



purpose of worship. Delicately embroidered pillows lined the wall and a coffee table served as altar and pulpit. The only decoration on the walls was the ever-present portrait of President Kim Il Sung, echoing his image pinned to every chest. Crosses were not in evidence.

Our entourage almost doubled the congregation of four women and four men, who had patiently awaited our arrival. Officiating at a simple but moving service was evangelist Yu Byong Chol.

Since fully trained and ordained pastors are in such short supply, some 200 evangelists, deacons and presbyters serve the roughly 500 fixed places of worship throughout the country, 30 to 40 of them in the Pyongyang area. In response to our question regarding the number of pastors, we had been told that only some ten pastors ordained before the war are still alive. Since 1972 however, the Korean Christian Federation has trained some twenty new pastors in three-year theological courses. Characteristically, all such statistics were given in round figures.

After an enthusiastically sung opening hymn, a prayer led by a member of the congregation thanked God for the opportunity of our visit and offered repentance for not having done enough for national reunification. Because of the World Council of Churches' three member churches in South Korea, our visit in some ways represented a tenuous, symbolic connection with Christians in the South. An hour earlier, we had presented to Pastor Ko Gi Jun, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Korean Christian Federation, a gift of six hymnbooks from the National Council of Churches in Korea. In return, we had been given copies of the Old and New Testaments, newly published in North Korea in 1983 and 1984. It was the first exchange of gifts between Christian organizations in South and North since the division of the country.

After the service, which lasted about half an hour, we had the opportunity for informal conversations over a cup of tea. Infant baptism, we discovered, is no longer practised. Christian marriages are extremely rare, since there are few young Christian couples requesting such a ceremony. We had of course noted the absence of children or young people at our worship.

Holy communion, a concept our interpreter found difficult to translate, is celebrated on major festivals, once or twice a year. Because of the shortage of pastors, several worship groups may join together on such occasions.

Would they not wish to build a new



A group of children in a kindergarten in Pyongyang.

church to worship in? In fact, there was once an offer by the Federation to build a church in Pyongyang. It was the house churches which turned it down. Believers, they said, are spread so widely that they would have to travel great distances to fill a larger sanctuary.

But there is a deeper reason. Christians in North Korea have been worshipping in the privacy of homes for over thirty years. It has become more than expediency. It has become a way of Christian life and witness. To forsake the intimacy of this experience in favour of a showcase edifice would be to forsake what links them to the early church of New Testament times.

### The need for trust

There are many skeptics who believe that all talk of a living Christian presence in the DPRK is a fiction promoted by a North Korean government eager to establish trade relations with Western governments. The Korean Christian Federation, they would argue, is a front organization designed to entice gullible Christians the world over into supporting North Korean causes.

Such skepticism is actively promoted by the South Korean government. During my visit to Seoul, where I reported the results of our visit to the North to leaders of WCC member churches, I had the opportunity to meet South Korea's vice minister of Culture and Information. He attempted to persuade me of the danger of North Korea's deception tactics.

A year before our visit, the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs had held a consultation in Tozanso, Japan, on

"Peace and Justice in North-East Asia". That consultation had wrestled a great deal with the question of doubt regarding the authenticity of Christian groups in North Korea. In the end its report stressed the necessity of trust, not in the power of human discernment, but in God as the sovereign Lord of all history.

The report put it this way: "Given the strong Roman Catholic and Protestant churches existing in North Korea before 1945, we believe that God has not abandoned these churches nor left these people without witness. In this confidence, we are determined to reach out to greet and share our common faith with those from whom we have been so long divided."

As our limousine crossed the Taedong river, leaving the 12-storey apartment building with its *kimchi* refuse behind, we were filled with the warmth of an encounter that was not without ambiguity.

But first steps are never without ambiguity. When building bridges, one runs the risk of getting wet. The endeavour is nevertheless worthwhile.

Erich Weingärtner

Canadian Lutheran Erich Weingärtner is executive secretary of the WCC's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA). Together with CCIA director Ninan Koshy, he participated in the first official WCC visit to North Korea in mid-November 1985. As guests of the Korean Christian Federation and the Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland, they had the opportunity described here to worship with a small congregation in a "house church".

# Going Back Home

Dr. Myong Gul Son, assistant general secretary for Parish Ministries with the National Program Division, Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, served on a committee to draft a policy statement for the National Council of Churches of Christ-USA on the reunification of Korea. That assignment afforded Dr. Son a visit to his North Korean homeland in April 1986 for the first time in almost 40 years. Here he shares with NEW WORLD OUTLOOK readers the story of his reunion.

They told me this was Samdung, the place where I grew up. But nothing looked the same. All of the buildings, even the layout of the streets, were different. The hometown I knew 40 years ago was gone, destroyed by the bombs of the Korean conflict. Everything about this place was new to me.

I had already left home several years before the bombing started. It was 1947, and I was just out of high school. Tensions were building between the foreign nations that were competing for control of my country. Korea had become free of Japanese dominance two years earlier. But almost immediately, the United States and the Soviet Union drew a line across Korea at the 38th parallel, dividing one nation and one people into two—"temporarily."

I lived in the northern half of the country, which was controlled by the Soviets. The future did not look promising for young Christians there. I made up my mind to escape to the south. I couldn't tell anyone I was leaving—not my parents, my grandfather nor any of my five brothers and sisters. They wouldn't have let me go through with it.

I successfully escaped by fishing boat from the port city of Haeju on the northern side of the border to Chungdan just to the south. A year later, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, commonly referred to as North Korea, and the Republic of Korea, now known as South Korea, were officially created. By then, I had already entered seminary in Seoul to prepare for a career in the ministry. Once, and only once, I was able to get a letter across the border to my family to explain what had become of me.

In 1950, the war began. As a civilian, I ministered to some of the

I made up my mind to escape . . . I couldn't tell anyone I was leaving.

South Korean troops. Life in Seoul was relatively peaceful, but there were reports of widespread destruction in the North. I worried about how my family was doing.

I was on my way to the First Presbyterian Church one day. It was 1951. I was supposed to be going to the First Methodist Church, but I had made a mistake. In the end, however, it wasn't a mistake for me at all. When I got to First Presbyterian, I bumped into my older sister, whom I hadn't seen in four years. She had come to South Korea a year earlier as a refugee from the war. The rest of the family had stayed behind. I learned from her that my grandfather had died in 1949.

The United Methodist Church awarded me a Crusade Scholarship in 1957, so I came to the United States to study at Perkins Theological Seminary for two years. I returned to Seoul but came back to the United States to pursue further study in 1966. I have lived here ever since.

Four decades have passed since my country was divided. For years, Korean Christians in the South have longed for reunification with North Korean Christians who never escaped. Korean Christians also long for the political reunification of all Korea. In recent years, ecumenical bodies, such as the World Council of Churches and the National Council of the Churches of Christ, have grown interested in

this issue, too. The concerns of the churches were first brought to light at a 1984 consultation between the NCCCs of North America and the Republic of Korea.

In 1986, the NCCC decided to develop a policy statement on Korean reunification. The Council appointed a ten-member committee to draft the statement. I was one of the appointed members. One of our first tasks as a committee was to take a fact-finding trip to the two Koreas in April of last year. It was a trip that would allow me to see my North Korean homeland for the first time in 39 years.

Our journey was rather complicated. With some of the other members of the delegation, I had to fly first to Seoul, then to Hong Kong and then to Beijing, China. In Beijing, we met the rest of the committee, which had flown there from Tokyo. From Beijing, we all flew into North Korea.

The night before we arrived, I could not sleep. I was almost home. I didn't even know if any of my family was still alive.

We landed at the airport outside the capitol city of Pyongyang. My village lay on the outskirts of the city. Government officials, church leaders and young girls with flowers greeted us upon our arrival. The three of us in the delegation who were native Koreans were immediately given some very good news: arrangements had been made for all three of us to be reunited with our families during our stay.

For Rev. Syngman Rhee of the Presbyterian Church, this was the third visit back to North Korea. He had re-established contact with his family on an earlier trip. But for me and Rev. In Sik Kim, also of the Presbyterian Church, these would be our first family encounters since



**'Our first encounter was full of information as well as emotion' says Myong Gul Son (left) as he greets a sister and brother in hotel lobby**

before the war. We were very anxious.

Our days were filled with tours and meetings concerning Korea's future. At dinner one evening, a representative from the Committee on the Peaceful Unification of the Fatherland announced that our "family reunions" would take place the next day. But all that day, there was no sight, nor any mention, of our families. We were deeply disheartened and frustrated. We didn't hear anything at all about our families for the next three days. The day before our tour of the site of the historic North-South truce meeting, we were told that we would meet our families the next evening. Naturally, we were skeptical. But when we returned to our hotel at about 6:00 p.m., there they were. Members of

all three families were sitting in the lobby waiting for us.

If I had passed my brother and sister on a busy street, I would never have known them. But I had been thinking about them and remembering for several days now; I recognized them the moment I saw them.

Of course, they looked older than they did 39 years ago, but then so did I. The deep lines in their faces spoke of a vastly different life than I had known. Although my sister was younger than I, she looked much older.

We ate dinner together at the hotel, and then we talked in my room for hours. Our first encounter was full of information as well as emotion. I learned that my father had died during the war; my mother in 1968. She had lived to be

about 76 years. One brother had been killed in the bombing, and a sister had died of an illness during the war. No medical facility had been available to her. The price of war had been high for my family.

After the war and the devastation, one of my brothers started working the land as a cooperative farmer. He did this until his retirement five years ago at the age of 65. He and his wife have three daughters, a son and one grandson. My sister—who was 12 when I last saw her—has a husband, four daughters and three sons.

Two days after I met with my family, staff from the Committee to Aid Overseas Nationals picked me up at the hotel to take me to visit Samdung twelve miles from downtown. We arrived at about 7:00 p.m. As I said before, I didn't recognize a thing. During the war, more bombs had been dropped on North Korea than on the entire European Theatre during World War II. The destruction was total. My village, as well as my family, had risen from the ashes.

Thirty people met me at my brother's home. The village leaders were there. So was my high school classmate who is now an elementary school principal. I met my sister-in-law again and my brother-in-law for the first time. I met my niece, my nephew and my grand-nephew.

My brother's home was very simple. There were no luxuries, except for a black-and-white television, but all the necessary furnishings were there, and everything was very clean. Most of the people in Samdung live in single family homes or apartments. All of their basic needs—housing, clothing, health care—are met.

A banquet was held in my honor at Samdung's cooperative restaur-

## Christianity in North Korea

Before the country was divided, the North was the heartland of Korean Protestantism. But then thousands of Christians began to flee to the South. Thousands more, including those who sought safety inside churches, lost their lives to the bombs of war. Others—like Dr. Son's family in Samdung—simply left the church under the pressures of their new Communist society.

Today, only 5,000 to 10,000 Christians remain in the North, compared with the 10 to 15 million Christians in South Korea. The Christians of North Korea are all over 50 years old. There are no "new" Christians; there are only those who were already Christians before the war.

"To manifest Christianity in places like North Korea takes more courage than it does in places like the United States," says Dr. Son.

There are approximately 500 Christian "house churches" that meet in people's private homes and apartments. Since there are only 25 ordained ministers in the country, services are usually led by lay evangelists. In 1986, the theological seminary had 21 students enrolled in a three-year program. They study a traditional curriculum from pre-1945 textbooks. The house churches still use pre-war hymnals, but new editions of the New Testament and the Old Testament were published in 1983 and 1984, respectively, by the Korean Christian Federation.

During their visit to North Korea, members of the NCCC policy statement drafting committee attended worship services at local house churches in Pyongyang. Dr. Son and other United Methodists attended a service just around the corner from their hotel.

The church was in a small room in an eleventh-floor apartment. Six women and three men were there, in addition to the committee members. This congregation was only a year old. The lay leader and evangelist of the congregation was named Kim. He and his wife were the only married couple there. Christianity is not a family religion in North Korea.

Kim conducted a simple, traditional order of service: silent prayer, a hymn, a prayer led by Dr.

Son, a special solo, a scripture reading, another hymn, the sermon, doxology and benediction. There was no offering. Church work in North Korea is supported by membership fees. Parishioners tithe two percent of their income.

In his sermon, Kim spoke of blood relationships as the true source of peace. He was referring not only to the bonds of family but also to the bonds among countrymen and among Christians, too, through the blood of Jesus Christ.

There was no musical accompaniment, but the singing was inspired and enthusiastic. The hymns were traditional ones. The soloist became very emotional as she sang—so much so that she broke down in the middle of the second verse of her selection. She could not continue.

The world is sometimes very small. After the service, the soloist learned through Dr. Son, the fate of several of her classmates who had fled North Korea long ago. Michael Hahn a colleague of Dr. Son's, is now in the United States, working with General Board of Global Ministries' World Division. Dr. Dae Sun Park is now a university president in Seoul.

When the Christian leaders of North Korea learned that the NCCC committee would soon be worshiping with Christians in the South, they held hands and cried. Once in Seoul, the committee spoke on the Christian experience in North Korea at a sharing session with Christian leaders in the South. Many South Koreans have doubted that Christianity in the North still exists. At the sharing session, the committee played a tape of a hymn being sung at one of the house churches. People in the room began to hum along. A few began to sing along. Soon everyone was singing, and by the third stanza, their eyes were filled with tears.

"It was the realization that we are all one in Christ," Dr. Son explains. "No truce line. No ideological differences. Same Bible, same hymnal, same blessings and repentances in the name of Jesus Christ. To materialize that unity is our theological task." □

—SHELLEY MOORE

rant that evening. Later, I returned to my brother's home, visited with the townspeople for another half hour and then talked with my family until 2:00 a.m., when I fell asleep. I awoke at about 4:30 when I sensed that someone was holding my hand. When I opened my eyes, I found my niece and my nephew, both in their twenties, with my hands in theirs, just watching me sleep.

After a walk around town the next morning, I visited the cemetery. The sight of the tombs of my grandfather and my parents brought back painful memories. I had never said goodbye to them while they were still alive. I cried for an hour and a half.

I was taken back downtown after lunch. My family was able to visit me three more times before I left North Korea to go to the South.

I am a fortunate man. There are an estimated 10 million members of Korean families who remain separated today. They don't know each other. They don't even know if their loved ones exist. I was lucky even to visit the tombs of my parents.

And now my generation is beginning to pass away. If Korean parents and children, brothers and sisters divided by the war are ever to see each other alive again, they must begin to do so now. The families of Korea must be reunited. My children do not know who their own cousins are. My generation is the only existing link. □

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410GS7/7/87

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

NCC DELEGATION FIRST TO VISIT BOTH KOREAS

NEW YORK, July 7---For the first time since Korea was divided in 1945, in the aftermath of World War II, an official church delegation has visited both North and South Korea. Ten representatives of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA, under the leadership of General Secretary Arie Brouwer, were hosted in North Korea June 19-26 by the Korean Christians Federation and the government Committee for the Peaceful Reunification of the Fatherland. After transiting through Beijing (People's Republic of China), they arrived in South Korea where they were hosted by the Korean National Council of Churches June 26-July 2.

The NCCCUSA delegation travelled to both parts of Korea officially to present the policy statement on "Peace and the Reunification of Korea" that was adopted by the Council's Governing Board on November 6, 1986. The policy statement makes recommendations for substantial changes in United States government policy on Korea, outlining measures that the Council believes could promote reunification. The division of Korea was the result in 1945 of a U.S. suggestion -- promptly accepted by the Soviet Union -- that the two powers divide responsibility for the peninsula following the defeat of Japan, which occupied Korea in 1910.

"High among the concerns of our delegation was the exploration of measures to hasten the reuniting of divided Korean families," Brouwer said. An estimated ten million Koreans were separated from their families following liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945, and as a result of the Korean War between 1950-1953. One member of the group, Dr. Michael Hahm, area secretary for Southeast Asia in the World Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, was reunited with his sister whom he had last seen in 1950. At the time she was eight years old.

As a result of inquiries made during an April 1986 visit by a technical group which drafted the NCC policy statement, Hahm had learned that both his parents died in the 1950s, but that his sister survived and lived near the family home on the outskirts of the capital, Pyongyang. Hahm also met his brother-in-law and three of his six nieces and nephews. Hahm and his family were together several times while the delegation was in North Korea.



During their stay in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), members of the delegation worshiped with four house church groups in Pyongyang, and prayed with a fifth in Kaesong City, near the Military Demarcation Line. They also met several times with leaders of the Korean Christians Federation, a non-governmental membership association organized to represent the interests of persons identifying themselves as Christians in the officially Communist country. The Rev. Dwain C. Epps, NCC assistant general secretary for international affairs, who had led the earlier technical group visit, compared the two experiences: "While we have much to learn still about the extent and history of the Christian community which remained in North Korea after 1953, we are now more convinced than ever of the authenticity of the faith of groups with whom we have worshiped and prayed. We believe that we have laid a firm foundation for future relations. We have much to learn from their piety and experience in what elsewhere might be described as 'basic Christian communities.' God willing, perhaps some things we have to share out of our own experience can also benefit them."

The Rev. Dr. Byung-Kyu Lee, chairperson of the Ecumenical Relations Committee and past moderator of the Korean Presbyterian Church in America, was one of the delegation members to offer prayers during house church services in Pyongyang. "I was born and raised in South Korea," he said, "and admit to having been somewhat skeptical about earlier reports of active church life in the North. But the genuineness of the Christian spirit we encountered during worship in the house churches, and in sharing prayers and a hymn with Christians in Kaesong convinced me that the faith has indeed been sustained and has authentic witnesses in North Korea."

Delegation member Bishop Gustav Schultz of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches had been among the first American visitors to the DPRK in 1981, and has published the first interview read abroad with Pastor Ko Gi Jun, general secretary of the Korean Christians Federation. "The Federation has indicated that it has some 10,000 members, about half of whom worship in house churches of 8-12 persons each," he reported. "While we have met with only a very few of these congregations thus far, we hope in the coming years, through an exchange of visits with DPRK Christians, to grow much closer to these worshipping communities."

The NCC delegation also met with representatives of the Korean Buddhists Federation and of Chondo-kyo, a traditional religious organization unique to Korea.

In Pyongyang, the delegation met with a number of government officials, including Vice President Park Sung Chu<sup>1</sup>, who is the head of the delegation to the North-South Parliamentary Talks in Korea. Park is also a former foreign minister of the DPRK.

Arriving in the Republic of Korea (ROK) on the heels of massive peaceful demonstrations around the country called by Protestant, Catholic and Buddhist religious leaders, the delegation found it impossible to continue dialogue on peaceful reunification with ROK government officials. The NCC drafting group last year had met with the minister of the Board of Unification, an assistant minister for foreign affairs, and the vice minister for information and culture.

Despite various obstacles, the delegation held substantive talks on peace and reunification issues with a broad range of South Korean church leaders. During one session, in which the delegation reported on its visit to the North to a gathering of clergy and lay leaders, South Korean government officials were present. The American church leaders also conferred with the U.S. ambassador to Seoul, Mr. Jamea Lilley.

While in Seoul, though refused official contact with government ministries directly concerned with reunification, the U.S. church leaders were offered hospitality by the Ministry of Information and Culture and met unofficially with the vice-chairperson of the ROK National Committee of the Red Cross for discussions on the promotion of humanitarian contact between separated family members living in South and North Korea.

The NCC visit, Brouwer explained, was made in the context of an international ecumenical initiative to promote peace in the Northeast Asian region and the reunification of Korea. "This process," he said, "is coordinated by the World Council of Churches in cooperation with the Christian Conference of Asia. It is humbling that God has entrusted Christians in the country which first suggested the division of Korea and the only one still to maintain a foreign military presence there, to carry the prayers of the churches around the world to Christians in North and South Korea.

The members of the NCC delegation were: Dr. Peggy Billings, deputy general secretary, World Division of the Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, New York City; Dr. Arie Brouwer, general secretary, NCC, New York City; Dr. William Creevey, pastor, First Presbyterian Church, Portland, Oregon, Presbyterian Church (USA); the Rev. Dwain C. Epps, assistant general secretary for international affairs, NCC, New York City; the Rev. Claudia Ewing Grant, deputy general minister and president of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Indianapolis, Indiana; Dr. Michael Hahn, area executive secretary of Southeast Asia, World Division of the Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church, New York City; Bishop Leroy Hodapp, bishop of the Indiana Area of the United Methodist Church, Indianapolis, Indiana; Dr. Byung-Kyu Lee, Korean Presbyterian Church in America chairperson for ecumenical relations and pastor in Wyndmoor, Pennsylvania; Dr. Mattilyn T. Rochester, a high school principal in Burlington, New Jersey, and lay leader of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church; Dr. Gustav Schultz, bishop of the Southwest Province of the Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches, and pastor of the University Lutheran Chapel, Berkeley, California.

# A momentous encounter

For the first time  
in 40 years, sharing  
the Lord's supper.

If anyone had asked me before 5 September 1986 what was my most significant experience in almost nine years of work in the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs (CCIA), a celebration of the eucharist would not have been foremost on my mind.

With issues such as the arms race, militarism, human rights and conflict situations to deal with on a daily basis, the CCIA has regularly been involved in events of substantial importance.

What was so noteworthy, then, about a communion service held in a meeting room of the Hotel Righi Vaudois in Glion, Switzerland, that Friday afternoon?

The answer lies in the hopes and prayers of millions of people over long and painful years. That single act of receiving the body and blood of Christ Jesus represented the culmination of a difficult process for which many people have struggled, suffered and died. It marked the beginning of a new era, a visible sign of a longed-for unity which has yet to be restored.

For the first time in more than forty years, Koreans from both parts of a bitterly divided peninsula were able to share the Lord's Supper together.

From the beginning, it was an extraordinary occasion. Every one of the 22 participants who came from the world over to attend a CCIA seminar on the "biblical and theological foundation of Christian concern for peace" were aware that they would witness a moment of great significance in ecumenical history.

In his welcoming address, CCIA director Ninan Koshy described the meeting as the beginning of a new chapter in the ecumenical movement. Building bridges and working for peace, he said, had always been major elements in the search for Christian unity.

Prior to the seminar, a four-person delegation (plus interpreter) representing the Korean Christians' Federation of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK)

visited the Ecumenical Center in Geneva. This first official visit to the WCC by Christians from North Korea had been preceded by a WCC staff visit to Pyongyang in November 1985 (see *One World* no. 114, April 1986) and another in April 1986 by a delegation from the US National Council of Churches.

The North Korean delegation, headed by KCF General Secretary Pastor Ko Gi Jun, attended an ecumenical worship, was welcomed by the WCC General Secretary Emilio Castro, had conversations with senior WCC staff, and met with leaders of the World Alliance of Reformed Churches and the Lutheran World Federation.

This was merely the prelude, however, to the main event. At the meeting in Glion, the North Korean delegation was introduced to a six-person delegation representing the WCC member churches and the National Council of Churches in the Republic of (South) Korea (ROK).

To grasp how momentous this encounter was, one must recall that the Korean peninsula has been divided since the end of World War II in 1945. The division itself was imposed on Korea by an agreement between the USSR and the US, in order to

prevent a direct collision between the victorious armies of the two emerging superpowers.

A similar strategy led to the division of Germany. But the case of Korea is far more poignant. Korea was never an aggressor. Korea suffered under Japanese colonialism and then became the victim of superpower confrontation.

Unlike Germany's divided families, who are able to communicate with each other by mail, by telephone or even through visits, the estimated ten million divided family members of Korea have no way of knowing whether their relatives on the other side are alive or dead. It is easy to see why the question of the reunification of Korea arouses such powerful emotions among Koreans on both sides of the divide.

A fratricidal war from 1950 to 1953 further hardened attitudes and hostility. An armistice signed by North Korea and the US has not led to a peace agreement. Some 40,000 US troops continue to be stationed in the South, along with an estimated 1000 nuclear battlefield weapons.

Emigrants continue to trickle through the Berlin wall. But the US-built reinforced concrete barrier stretching 240 km along the Demilitarized Zone across the Korean peninsula is impenetrable.

The painful rupture of Korea has not spared the country's Christians. Most fled to the South during the war, partly out of



The two delegations pose for a group photo. From l. to r. (front row) Bong Lok Kim\* Hye Suk Kim\* Gi Jun Ko\* Yoon-Shik Kim. (second row) So Young Kim, Choon Young Kim, Young Chan Rhee, Jae Yon Kim\* (back row) Un Bong Kim\* Moon Kyu Kang, Nam Hyok Kim\*

WCC-Michael Dominguez

## 그리스도 안에서 하나가 됨

이방인으로 태어난 여러분, 지난 날을 단지 몸이다 사람의 손으로 행하는 할 때 받지 않은 사람들이라는 말을 들었 도와는 아무 관계도 없었고 이스라엘 의 계약에서 제외된 채 이 세상에서 람들이었습니다. ○이렇게 여러분은 지만 이제는 그리스도께서 피를 흘 리시어 하나님과 가까워졌습니다. ○은 자신의 몸을 바쳐서 유대 법 조문과 규정을 모두 폐지하심 이방인을 하나의 사 람으로 되었던 모든 오셔서 하느 에게나 다 여러분과 우 리 아버지께로 니고 나그네 입니다. ○ 모방이들이

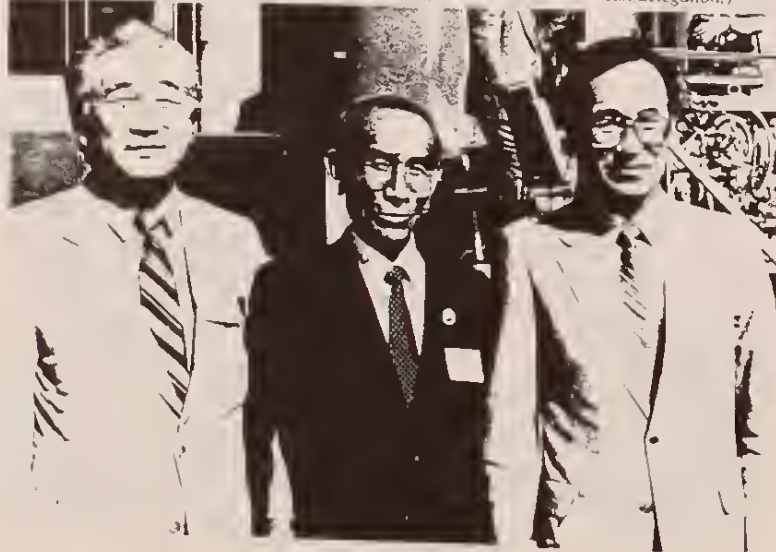
에페소 3:4

비십시오. 여러분은 자들로부터 할 받은 그리스 도로서 약속 살아 온 사 람이 되었고 을 말미암아 니다. 그분 갈리게 했 법 조문과 규 다인과 자가에 원수 상에 들 인 가 가 족 한 은

**NORTH  
and  
SOUTH  
KOREA**

... a visible  
sign of a  
longed for  
unity

Below: 1. to r. Pastor So Young Kim, General Secretary of the NCC in Korea, Pastor Gi Jun Ko, secretary general of the Central Committee of the Korean Christians Federation\*, and Mr Moon-Kyu Kang, general secretary of the National Council of YMCAs of Korea. (\* North Korean delegation.)



WCC - Michael Donington

## ONE WORLD

fear of the atheist ideology promoted by the leaders of the North, partly out of trust in the country which had sent missionaries to Korea to preach the gospel of Christ. None expected the division of Korea to become permanent.

In the South, Christianity has thrived since the war. Estimates range from a quarter to a third of South Korea's population of 40 million. Christians in the North, once the heartland of Protestantism, have shrunk to some 5,000 to 10,000 believers (in a population of 20 million).

What happened to Christians in the North is a matter of controversy that continues to serve division. Tales of purges, murder and concentration camps are used to substantiate the Southern contention that Christianity has ceased to exist in the North. North-ers explain that most of those Christians who did not flee to the South perished in crowded church buildings which they believed to be immune to American bombing.

In an atmosphere where mistrust has become government policy, where anti-Communism has attained the force of a creed, where until recently serious study of unification by Christians could lead to imprisonment, it should be no surprise that the churches of the South have been reluctant to pursue any contact with the North.

The breakthrough came in the form of recommendations adopted by a consultation on Peace and Justice in North East Asia, convened by the WCC in October 1984 in Tozanso, Japan. With the leadership of WCC member churches from South Korea in full attendance, this landmark ecumenical gathering asked the Council to "facilitate opportunities for Christians from both North and South Korea to meet in dialogue".

This recommendation was by no means simple to implement. A dialogue between Koreans of North and South had up until now been possible only for government-related people. Even those families which took part in an exchange visit organized by the two Red Cross societies in 1985 had been government-chosen. At present, all governmental dialogues have come to a complete halt. The North had walked out of the latest round of talks to protest "Team Spirit '86", the joint US-South Korean military exercises.

Days before the Glien meeting, there were still apprehensions about whether the



participants would receive the necessary visas.

Some of us also had apprehensions as to how the two delegations would react during the meeting. Would the 40 years of hostile propaganda which has marked North-South relations influence their attitudes toward each other? Would pre-determined political positions prevent dialogue, or would there be an openness to the new covenant in Christ, who "has broken down the wall of hostility, creating in himself one new people, reconciling all people into one body through the cross" (Ephesians 2:14ff)?

In the end, would trust or suspicion prevail?

Those of us who harboured such apprehensions were to be shamed by events as they unfolded. We were to learn that the desire of the Korean people for the reunification of their nation is far greater than the armies or ideologies that separate them.

That is not to say that tensions did not surface. Rev. Jacques Maury, president of the French Protestant Federation, sometimes had to use his pastoral skills as chairman to move the dialogue over hurdles. At times we were told the interpreter had softened words that sounded harsher in Korean.

In reading their papers on the subject of the seminar, both delegations clearly identified their respective positions on reunification. The Northern delegation outlined the position of their government: withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korean territory; tripartite talks among the DPRK, the US and the ROK; adoption of a peace agreement and

a declaration of non-aggression, suspension of military exercises; establishment of a nuclear-free zone; and ultimately reunification through a confederal system where each side would retain its social system within a non-aligned federation.

The Southern paper was presented by Mr Kang Moon Kyu, general secretary of the National Council of YMCAs in Korea and member of the CCIA. He defined the content of peace as freedom, justice and reconciliation. An important and realistic step had been taken towards this goal in the July 4 Joint Communiqué of 1972 by the two Korean governments. However, the delegation felt that the three principles outlined in the agreement had been misused as internal political means to intensify the existing power structures of both Koreas.

More important than the formal presentations were the informal discussions which took place at various times during meals and breaks. It became clear that both sides expended great efforts to make a success of this first encounter. It was agreed that a joint communiqué on political positions would be impossible to arrive at and would unnecessarily complicate any follow-up.

Recognizing the many differences in ideology and socio-economic systems between the two parts of Korea, which have grown over the four decades of division, the two delegations reaffirmed the role Christians and churches in their two countries should play in breaking down barriers and creating a new, just and peaceful future for a unified Korea.

Participants from outside Korea, all of

whom had attended the earlier Tozanso Consultation, exchanged ideas on how churches in their countries could contribute more actively to the creation of a climate suitable for the Koreans' own struggles for peace, justice and national reunification.

The seminar concluded with worship, using the liturgy celebrated at the WCC Sixth Assembly in Vancouver. In this way the North Korean Christians could join with the entire ecumenical community in "The Feast of Life" eucharist.

Pastor Kim Un Bong of North Korea delivered the sermon while Scripture readings and prayer were offered by Rev. Kim So Young, general secretary of the NCC-K and Bishop Kim Bong Lok of the Korean Methodist Church. A Korean hymn of praise rang with the unified voice and language of the Korean people.

The most dramatic moment came when the celebrant, the Rev. Dwain C. Epps of the US NCC, invited the congregation to give one another a sign of reconciliation and peace. What began as timid handshakes soon broke out into warm embraces which left no heart untouched.

Those who expected from this meeting weighty statements to pass on to posterity will have been disappointed. Both North and South delegations will have had difficulties explaining the "results" of the meeting to their colleagues back home. The main achievement was neither rhetoric nor propaganda. The main achievement was the celebration of the eucharist.

The eucharist, as the sign of the unity of the church and the unity of humankind, is a reminder that reconciliation and peace are gifts of God through the body and blood of Jesus Christ.

More powerful than any paper that could have been written is the hope that is still alive in the hearts of a people divided now for over 40 years. The fact that Christians from North and South could pray and worship together is testimony to the assurance that the reunification of Korea is possible.

The story is told of an aging South Korean pastor who, on his death, donated his eyes to a young person needing sight. He wished his eyes to be able to see the reunification of his homeland. Those of us attending the seminar were privileged to catch a glimpse of the meaning of Korean reunification.

**Erich Weingartner**

*Erich Weingartner, a Canadian Lutheran, is executive secretary with the WCC's Commission of the Churches on International Affairs.*

## North Koreans Propose Reduction Of Troops in the North and South

By CLYDE HABERMAN

Special to The New York Times

July 24, 1987

TOKYO, July 23 — North Korea today proposed vast troop reductions by both North and South Korea, and said that it would cut its own forces by 100,000 before the end of the year to "open up a practical breakthrough."

The North Korean plan called for a phased cutback that would leave each side with armed forces totaling less than 100,000 by 1992 — a fraction of the numbers now massed along one of the world's most heavily fortified borders. The proposal would also require the United States to withdraw all of the 40,000 troops it stations in South Korea, along with any nuclear weapons that it may store there.

According to American Government estimates, North Korea has 838,000 men and women under arms, compared with 598,000 for the South. The North also enjoys a great numerical advantage in tanks, artillery, multiple rocket launchers and naval forces and, to a lesser degree, in air power.

### Awaiting Democratic Change

The North Koreans urged that the two Koreas and the United States hold talks in Geneva next March on ways to put its plan into effect.

The choice of March seemed to have been made with South Korea's roiled domestic politics in mind. In late February, President Chun Doo Hwan is supposed to step down and yield to a successor who, under democratic steps taken in Seoul early this month, would be chosen through direct elections.

In the North Korean statement, the only direct reference to the South's political situation was a comment that "as long as the North and the South preserve such huge armed forces as today, peace and security cannot be guaranteed even if a democratic government desirous of peace and reunification is established in South Korea."

The statement was carried by the North Korean press agency, monitored in Tokyo.

There was no immediate reaction from the South Korean Government, but an official noted that a key recommendation — three-way talks in Geneva — was essentially a rehash of an idea that the North first offered in 1984. Each time the suggestion has been made, Seoul has rejected it.

### Washington Supports 2-Way Talks

South Korea fears that it would be shunted aside in a three-sided conference, suspecting that the North's true motive is to deal directly with the United States. Instead, with Washington's support, it has proposed two-way talks involving only the Koreans, but says it would accept four-sided negotiations, to include China, and even six-way discussions, to also include the Soviet Union and Japan.

"At this point, we might be very skeptical," the South Korean official said of the latest Northern plan.

A United States official said that today's proposal was largely a reworking of ideas that, in some instances, go

back more than 30 years, to the period immediately following the 1950-53 Korean War. Among the more familiar elements, he said, was the call for a reduction in overall troop strength to less than 100,000 on either side of the Korean demilitarized zone.

Despite the initial skepticism, it was the most far-reaching and detailed North Korean proposal to reduce tensions in several years — certainly since talks on several dominant issues

broke off in early 1986. It was also the most significant statement by the Government in Pyongyang since the United States said in April that it was prepared to take steps to improve relations, including the easing of a near total ban on trade, if the North resumed talks with the South and sent a team to the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul.

Why the North Koreans chose to act now was not clear, but the South Korean official said that the considerations probably included Seoul's domestic political troubles and long-stalled negotiations on whether Pyongyang should be allowed to share the 1988 Olympics to a limited extent.

"Every time South Korean politics becomes a little unstable, they make this kind of proposal," he said.

THE WASHINGTON POST  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1987

## North Korea: Force Cutback Has Begun Gesture Said Aimed At Reducing Tension

By Don Oberdorfer  
Washington Post Staff Writer

UNITED NATIONS, Sept. 26— North Korea has demobilized more than 30,000 troops in the past two months as a unilateral gesture to ease tension on the divided peninsula and is prepared for much deeper military reductions in the context of negotiations with South Korea and the United States, a senior North Korean official said today.

Kang Sok Ju, North Korea's deputy foreign minister and chief of its observer delegation to the current session of the U.N. General Assembly, said in an interview that some of the demobilized men are helping to build a 150,000-seat stadium in the capital of Pyongyang, which North Korea still hopes will be the site of

some events in next year's Olympic Games.

North Korea announced July 23 it would unilaterally reduce its forces by 100,000 men before the end of this year, and Kang said the 30,000 to 40,000 demobilized so far signify that the target will be achieved. As part of the same declaration, North Korea proposed negotiations involving South Korea and the United States next March aimed at reducing North and South Korean forces by stages to 100,000 on each side by 1991, and removing U.S. troops and nuclear weapons.

Kang said the military reduction of 100,000 men currently under way would leave his country's armed forces at 420,000 men. However, the most recent U.S. official estimate, made before the reductions were announced, put North Korea's armed forces at 830,000.

The divided peninsula, which is one of the world's most heavily armed areas of confrontation, also includes South Korean forces estimated at about 600,000 and U.S. forces of 40,000 armed with nuclear weapons and other highly sophisticated arms.

South Korea and the United States treated the recent North Korean troop announcements and proposals with skepticism, and Washington said that any mutual cuts should be negotiated between the two Koreas without U.S. participation.

According to material provided by Kang, North Korea this year has made an unprecedentedly large number of public statements and proposals regarding north-south talks or military reductions. Many of these drew counterproposals or other responses from South Korea, but so far diplomatic and other talks between north and south remain dormant.

"We gave the ball to the South Korean side but they did not return the ball," charged Kang. "Instead, they returned a stone."

Reminded that South Korea is going through a period of intense internal political activity leading to the popular election of a new president in December, Kang said a decision to pursue disarmament talks with the north would contribute to stability in the south.

"We are following developments in the south with deep interest," he said. "It is our hope that a democratic government will be set up in the south and we hope the election will be held in a fair way. We think the establishment of a democratic government in South Korea would contribute to an improvement in the relationship between north and south."

Continued on page 168

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4, 1987

# Seoul Proposes Talks Between North, South

## *S. Korea Suggests Foreign Ministers Meet*

By Fred Hiatt  
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, Aug. 3—South Korea today rejected a North Korean proposal for mutual troop reductions but proposed that foreign ministers from the two nations meet in September for wide-ranging peace talks.

The two nations have not held ministerial-level talks since the Korean War left the peninsula divided in 1953, officials in Seoul said. The South Korean government today suggested that while both foreign ministers are at the United Nations in New York next month they should discuss troop strength, confidence-building measures and a possible summit meeting between Korean leaders.

However, the South Koreans insisted that the talks be bilateral, while North Korea has demanded three-way negotiations including the United States. With that major

difference still separating the two sides, South Korean officials and diplomats here were not optimistic that Seoul's latest proposal will bear fruit.

"Part of the whole game here is propaganda," one diplomat said. "Neither side wants to appear to reject anything out of hand."

Still, observers said both sides may be somewhat more flexible than in the past because of the Olympic games scheduled to take place in Seoul in September 1988 and because of recent political changes in South Korea.

In Washington, State Department spokesman Charles E. Redman called Seoul's proposal "far-reaching and flexible" and said the United States fully supported the proposal.

North Korea wants to host some of the games that have been awarded to Seoul, and to court world opinion toward that end, may make some concessions, diplomats said. Last month Pyongyang pro-

posed multilateral talks that would lead to dramatically smaller armies on both sides of the Demilitarized Zone.

North Korea now fields more than 800,000 troops and South Korea more than 600,000, with 42,000 U.S. troops allied with the South Korean Army. North Korea said that within five years both sides should reduce to 100,000 soldiers and the United States should then withdraw its forces.

North Korea also said it would unilaterally demobilize 100,000 troops this year as a sign of good faith.

The South Korean Foreign Ministry, however, said yesterday that three-way talks run "counter to the principle of self-determination."

South Korea's government is under pressure at home, however, to at least appear to be moving toward peace talks. The government has promised free elections for the fall, and reunification is a deeply emotional issue for many Koreans.

## *RDP proposes nuke-free zone, S-N nonaggression pact*

### *100-reform package for election campaign*

KOREA HERALD  
September 5,  
1987

The major opposition Reunification Democratic Party has presented "100 reforms for the national administration in the age of democratization," which it plans to use as election pledges.

The reform measures seeks the country free of nuclear forces, and a nonaggression pact between south and north Korea to help deter a possible recurrence of war on the peninsula.

The measures further suggest an inter-Korea joint development of tourist attractions along the Demilitarized Zone.

The reform project stipulates establishment of "the Armed Forces Charter" and a "public security council" to help ensure political neutrality of the military and police, respectively.

The RDP measures also seeks to reneve the commandship of the Korean

Armed Forces from the U.S. forces and revise some unfair provisions of the Status of Forces Agreements (SOFA)

The reform measures propose establishment of a board of overseas Korean residents under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

According to the reforms, the Law on Assembly and Demonstration, the Social Security Law and other "evil" laws would be revised or abolished. The National Security Law will be assimilated to the Criminal Law.

Independent Office of Police will be established, the Measures stipulate.

The RDP's reform measures, drafted by the party Policy Deliberation Committee, will soon be referred to the party's decision-making organs for final and official approval.

For the autonomous and independent economy, the RDP measures seek to issue a white paper on foreign debts and wage a pannational movement for an early repayment of the debts.

To help reduce the concentration of economic power and abolish the economic nepotism, the reform measures actively recommend opening of business firms and form an apparatus to tackle the problem of the debt-ridden firms.

The reform project also seeks enactment of a law to suspend the repayment of farmers' debts.

In addition, the measures seek to open hearings at the National Assembly to the public and allow television and radio stations to broadcast them live; implementation of an agricultural disaster insurance system; and establishment of a board of national disaster

## Chinese predict steady growth in indirect Sino-Korean trade

### Scholars say in H.K. conference

HONG KONG (Reuter) — Scholars from China have fended off caits from south Korean counterparts for better political ties but said indirect trade between China and south Korea could grow steadily.

In a rare meeting with the Chinese, south Korean scholars attending a political conference here said improved relations with China would help keep peace in the Pacific region.

Chang Dal-joong, a political scientist from Seoul's Sogang University, told the

three-day meeting, which ended Friday: "China shares parallel interests with south Korea in countering Soviet military expansion."

But Chen Qida, a Chinese political scientist, articulated Beijing line when he said: "Hope for trade between China and south Korea lies in the unification of south and north Korea."

An economist at the research center for economics in Beijing, Wang Huijiong, added: "It's not necessary for China to rely on external sources to protect itself."

China has no diplomatic relations with Seoul.

The south Koreans probed China's trade attitude towards Seoul. "South Korea can become a perfect alternative source of technologies and know-how," Chang said.

Fang Zongyin, an economist at Zhongshan University in Canton, said: "If south Korean products can compete with those from Japan and the United States, and I hope they can, then south Korea's exports to China should increase."

However, south Korean exports to China via Hong Kong, which had risen substantially from 1983 to 1985, fell 22 percent to \$277 million, the statistics say.



National Reunification  
Hong SeunUng, 1984

Reprinted from 1986 Calendar  
"12 Chapters of National Art"  
produced by United People's  
Movement for Democracy and Unification

겹데기는 가라  
사월도 알맹이만 남고  
겹데기는 가라.

겹데기는 가라.  
동학년(東學年) 꿈나루의,  
그 아우성만 살고  
겹데기는 가라.

그리하여, 다시  
겹데기는 가라.  
이곳에선,  
두 가슴과 그곳까지 내논  
아사달과 아사녀가  
중립의 초례청 앞에 서서  
부끄럼 빛내며  
맞절할지니

겹데기는 가라.  
한라에서 백두까지  
향그러운 흙기슴만 남고  
그, 모으든 쇠붙이는 가라.



## PART IV

### WHAT KOREANS ARE SAYING

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## PART IV

### WHAT KOREANS ARE SAYING

#### POEMS/STATEMENTS

### Discussion Questions

1. What is the message expressed in the poems "The Wish" and "The Heart of the Earth"? (pp. 51-52)
2. According to the Korean Church Statement on Peace (p. 55) what are the essential objectives for a movement to realize God's kingdom in Korea?
3. Why is the church concerned that discussion about reunification not be a monopoly of the government?
4. How does the Christian church in Korea see its unique role in reconciliation and reunification? What are the specific actions proposed?
5. What are the main concerns of the 14 women's groups which signed the Women's Declaration of 1985? (p. 61)
6. Why are even "moderate" Korean students critical of the U.S.? Why does the south Korean government put students like Mr. Woo in jail for giving an interview to a foreign journalist? (p. 62)

# THE WISH

It is a season of splendor  
When the creeks break free to run  
And pussy willows bloom; the buds  
New greens, break through oppressing soil  
The flowers, delicate, paint scenes of joy and hope  
It was the same thirty some years ago  
When one day, in a glorious season  
I became a refugee, not knowing why

Yes, we had thought that it was done  
And that the time had come  
That we could be ourselves  
The hosts of our own houses, in our land  
But why have I become a refugee?  
What crimes have I committed  
That I have had to pack up like a thief  
Collecting someone else's things  
In haste, perplexity, all hidden  
From the neighbor's eyes  
Abandoning my home, my heart  
To travel like a vagabond  
Loathing my luggage  
In the tide of the evening darkness  
We went up to Wonsan for a boat  
There was no boat

At least we had a truck we'd hired in Pyong-Yang  
We drove along the coast  
How beautiful the beaches of the land I left!  
Myong Sa-Ship-Ri, the miles of white sand  
The matching miles of untainted sky and sea  
The smiling infant joy of innocence, the being  
With the one, the changing and unchanging  
The sublime, with a being all its own  
How mystically serene, the far horizon  
Luring always far away  
As if it were whispering "Come to me!"  
And shouting "Stay!" at the same time  
We passed the pines, innumerable groves  
Like parasols of green. They made my heart ache  
The pains of life were born in me, so young a child  
Who would normally play and laugh!

Then there was the magnitude and delicacy  
Of the mountains of Keum Kang  
How I wanted to jump from peak to peak  
Playing hide-and-seek on each, and standing proud  
I wanted to cry out to my heart's content  
To listen to the trails of my own echoes  
"I want to live like this!  
I have the right to live like this!"  
Bang, bang, bang!  
It is a river in our own country  
That we were forced to cross. Hoping for luck alone  
We rolled our skirts and pants up to our thighs  
We were desperate  
Some Russian soldiers fired at us. It was  
our own river. It was a time of peace  
Who were they, these Russians!

Someone high up gave an order  
That order made a chain  
That chain bound them and us  
That chain bound him and me  
"Do I know him? Have we met?"  
If only I had met him face-to-face  
It might have been different  
We could have been friends . . . who knows?  
We had no chance to try  
Even before we could question them  
They shot. We were their targets  
Russians firing on Koreans  
It is absurd

Is it a game? But how dangerous, and real  
And yet I didn't envy them their posts  
Those soldiers dangling at the end of the chain  
And yet, at my endlessly vulnerable position  
I wept

On the other side at last, we reached a hill  
Escaping narrowly  
We fled, were refugees, not knowing why  
Just sitting on a southern hill  
Just like a northern hill  
I could not laugh at the triumph of escape  
But only weep again  
My laughter having been repressed  
Before I was born

Help! Oh, help me and my people!  
Someone said that all the refugees  
Should go to the camp—a sea of people  
I asked, "Is all of north Korea down here now?"  
I saw Yankee soldiers for the first time in my life  
They all had shiny shoes  
Clean, pressed uniforms  
They were clean themselves  
Just out of the bath, perhaps  
They all chewed gum relentlessly  
They all held strange machines  
They were spraying us with powder, DDT, as if to say  
"We'll rid you of the bugs and germs  
You are carrying from the north."  
As if to say, as well, "This rite  
Will authorize you to live in the south  
Like us civilized and free."  
Was this their way of humanitarian benevolence?  
We were made all white, baptized from head to toe  
All white as flour-packers or as homeless nomads  
Roaming in the dust. Weren't we the same  
Once called the bourgeoisie  
Who have been pushed into this plight?  
Some bourgeoisie! We whose very lives depend  
On excess grain from the USA!  
Do I thank them? Curse them?  
Oh, I cannot distinguish friend from foe!

This is how my "Freedom" and my "Dignity" began  
This is how my "Politics" awoke in me  
As my knowledge grows, our plight seems more difficult  
As the dictators sing of "democracy"

They call "communist" whoever speaks of  
"Rights," "justice," and "freedom"  
And innocents are found, imprisoned, tortured, killed  
The schemes are devilish  
To reinforce their power  
They loan us money, making their pockets fat  
With snow-balling interest  
While the weight of our country's debt  
Strangles the poor  
How dangerous this "anti-communism" is  
How mutable!

"Free the poor! Free the oppressed!  
Free them from the grips of a thousand demons!  
Jesus set the example. We are merely following  
His steps." They say: "You are the reds.  
You're communists, and dangerous."  
The Christians exiled by the Kim regime  
Are harassed by the Park/Chun regime  
Where can we turn now  
With the Red Sea and the desert before us?  
Oh, God help our people to build a bridge  
Over the Red Sea and straighten the road in the desert  
To come out victorious from the hell  
Of hatred and division, to be led in the land  
Of love, unity and peace!

Spring has returned again  
Thirty-five springs since I crossed that wretched border  
The thirty-eighth parallel  
So arbitrary a division in our history  
O Korea, where we each are born  
With marks of death, indelible  
Yes, it is another spring, another hope  
My days are turning round and round, and I can see  
The original point, but cannot get to it somehow  
My enemies are too many and too strong  
Oh, Korea! I suffer in my love for you!  
Let the day come, let me see it  
All—before my eyes, which have shed so many tears  
Have finally closed

by Lee Sun-ai

## THE WISH

POEMS OF CONTEMPORARY KOREA

Translations by Lee Sun-ai  
Edited by Lee Sun-ai and Don Luce

FRIENDSHIP PRESS • NEW YORK

# THE HEART OF THE EARTH

(A Poem from a Prison Cell)

by Rev. Moon Ik Whan

The Earth is the conscience;  
The heart of the Earth is the conscience.  
Have you ever seen the Earth deceive anyone?  
Would the Earth betray the sprouting blades of grass  
nourished by the milk from her own bosom?  
Would she harm the playful grasshoppers on the meadows?  
Would the Earth betray the pine trees, paulownia trees,  
birch trees, or ash trees?  
Or would she hurt the song birds who dwell among them?  
Does the Earth destroy the tigers?  
The bears, the hares, and the mountain lions?  
Does the Earth deceive man?

No, the Earth is honest; the heart of the Earth is the truth.  
The Earth is the ball of burning truth.  
Bare feet, I step on the pulsating Earth;  
The Conscience of the Universe beats upon your heart.

You say the conscience is anything you make of it.  
I say, the conscience is the heart of the Earth.  
I am born of the Earth, I eat from the earth,  
and I will return to the earth.  
The heart of the Earth is as soft as silk.

The Earth under P'yong-yang,<sup>1</sup>  
The Earth under Seoul;  
Is it not all one Earth?  
Then, why shouldn't P'yong-yang's conscience  
And Seoul's conscience be the same?  
Washington's Earth and Moscow's Earth are one;  
Then, why should Washington's heart  
and Moscow's heart not be the same?

Draw a line here and draw a line there,  
and claim this is my land, that is your land.  
Claim this earth is my conscience, and that earth is yours;  
And we have destroyed the Earth and her soul.  
You cannot draw a line on the Earth!  
When you drew a line in your heart, you killed it.

We must all return to the Earth one day.  
We will all be embraced by her bosom of conscience.  
Then all strife will have ended;  
The conscience will have conquered the wars.  
Then, the peace will bring unity and freedom.  
Melt down the cannons and forge them into sickles.  
Break up the tanks and shape them into plows.

Francis of Assisi of long ago showed us:  
The wild flowers of the field;  
Large and small trees in the woods;  
The squirrels, and the cuckoo birds who lived among them;  
He loved them and called them "my brothers and sisters all".

When all the children of the Earth are united as one,  
and build peace together;  
The mother Earth will shamelessly cry her heart out;  
The sky will split with thunder, and her tears will shower  
upon all her children.

Friends, put your hands in your bosoms.  
If you are alive, you will feel the warmth in your palms.  
Do you know what it means, your warm heart?  
It means you are alive.  
Your heart, your conscience is alive!  
Even a sparrow's heart is warm,  
And a crow's, and dove's heart is warm.  
A rabbit's heart, a dog's heart;  
They all are warm.

Why, because they are the conscience of the Earth.  
They all belong to the heart of the Earth.  
From the molten core of the Earth pulsing day and night, the Earth  
Feeds all our hearts, large and small, with burning conscience.

How is it then, that there is such strife, so much turmoil among us?  
Why are all the beautiful hearts shedding so much blood?  
From where does the icy wind blow trampling all our conscience,  
into frozen bits of pebbles?

I have no time to dwell upon such idle philosophical discourse;  
No matter how hard the north wind blows,  
No matter how strong the typhoon rakes the ocean;  
The wind cannot burrow into the heart of the Earth.  
It cannot touch the roots of the grass,  
Anxiously waiting to break forth when the Spring comes.

Yes, Father,<sup>2</sup> I shall stand firmly against the wind.  
Worst that can happen to me is death.  
And if I should die; then like you,  
I will have done my small bit to bring hope to the mankind.

Close my eyes and extend my hand into my people's bosom,  
All the hearts of the fathers, the mothers, the sons and the daughters;  
Send their heart beats in unison to tell me their conscience is living.  
Yes, their's is the heart beat of the Earth's conscience.  
And as I stand with them, I feel ten feet tall!

<sup>1</sup> P'yong-yang is the North Korean capital; and Seoul is the capital of South Korea; two capitals of a divided nation.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Moon Ik Whan's father, the Rev. Moon Jac Rin died in December 1985.

From the Seoul Prison  
In the late Fall of  
the Year of the Tiger (1986)

Moon Ik Whan

Translated by  
Yun-kuk Kim

## KOREAN CHURCH STATEMENT ON PEACE

The Korean churches, as participants in the history of the Holy Spirit, are struggling for human rights, social justice, and democratization in efforts to recognize God's peace on this land. Through these works, the churches have come to the recognition that many of the exploitations, oppressions and turmoil in the human community originate from the present situation of division of our nation's people and motherland.

The developments of the super-powers have acted to dismiss the identity of Korea as an independent nation and have created and continue to sustain the division of this country. The differences in ideologies on which this division is founded are abused to preserve the present political powers and obstruct the flourishing independent democratic movements of the people. This ideological warfare, has, in effect, fundamentally restricted social justice and human rights, and rationalizes the existence of dictatorship politics as well as military control over all aspects of life.

In this 40th year of division, we come together to examine these realities under the assembly's theme of "Peace on this Land". We seek to conquer this state of division and unify our motherland and our people, bringing peace. We believe that God has called us to this mission of unification for peace. We are united in the proclamation that God's kingdom is based on peace.

Our nation's history has been turbulent; we have endured colonial rule, the 2nd World War, the division of our land with the Korean War after liberation, the Cold War, and today's military confrontation. In this, our nation's people have come to confess that Jesus Christ is the suffering servant of the world and the people long for peace.

To God, creator of a world in which "steadfast love and faith will meet, Righteousness and peace will kiss each other. Faithfulness will spring up from the ground and Righteousness will look down from the sky" (Psalms 85:10-11) and to God of salvation, who, "Himself bestows happiness as our soil gives its harvest, Righteousness always preceding Him, and Peace following in his footsteps" (Psalms 85:12-13), we make this confession of faith together.

"For Christ is our peace who has made us both one, and has broken down the dividing walls of hostility, by abolishing in His flesh the law of the commandments and ordinances, that he might create in Himself one new person in place of the two, so making peace, and might reconcile us both to God as one body through the cross, thereby bringing hostility to an end." (Ephesians 2:14-17)

We have witnessed the Holy Spirit "with great longing for the revealing . . ." and because we know that the "creation itself will be set free from the bondage to decay and obtain the glorious liberty of the children of God . . ." and that "the Spirit Itself intercedes for us with sighs too deep for words" (Romans 8:19-27). The Holy Spirit, as it encourages the suffering people of this nation, forces us to be sensitive to the issue of peace and provides us with a vision of peace which will be faithful to the kingdom of God.

We make our confession of faith in the Yahweh of peace and in the Holy Trinity. In our commission from God to be God's servants as peace makers (Blessed are the peace makers, for they shall be called the children of God; Matthew 5:9) we derive our existential reason for life. Being at the very heart of this generation's military tension, we seek to participate in the peace movement through acts of reconciliation and the unification of the nation's people. Only through this way can the people become the subjects of their history and national peaceful unification be realized. This is our confession of faith.

Because there is no peace, our nation's people have shed blood and tears which have stained the whole of this land. Because there is no peace, the lamentations of countless souls, the "han" of separated families and those fatigued by the struggle for survival have gone without consolation. The present dividing ideologies promote distrust, hostility, and anxiety which act to spread a moral depravity among our nation's people. These have resulted in restraining spiritual, academic, and cultural freedom and creativity, curtailing the human capacity for ingenuity and development. The advancement of a democratic, just, and peaceful people is being thwarted by depriving the people of their rights to criticize and defy the social, political, and economic oppressions and exploitations through the suppression and distortion of creative alternatives. Under the name of "economic development", an economic system which is heavily dependent on foreign monies has been constructed. This economic structure is devastating the economic conditions of the people, systematizing inequality and exploitation of laborers, and totally annihilating peasant life. More urgent than these is the fact that under the guise of the super-powers' satanic logic which claims that military buildup in the perimeters of the Korean peninsula will maintain peace, Korea is becoming a pawn as a region of a limited nuclear war experiment. . Even in the face of this potential crises of human destruction, because of anti-communist propaganda and anti-communist education, our people are unable to recognize the danger and horror of a possible nuclear war. A situation so rigid has been created that even discussion of the nuclear problem is seen as taboo. Moreover, the present situation does not even allow the people to speak out against the potential hazards of radio-active waste which are the by-products of recent rapid development of atomic power plants.

Furthermore, our people do not possess the rights to knowledge or communication via the media because of its restrictive structure which is enforced by law. Distortions and fabrications in the media hamper the people from obtaining accurate information concerning the present critical realities. A villainous order is being constructed through legal and structural restrictions against the media, through fabricated information and government domination of the mass media, all which act to suppress the democratization movements of our people who seek to communicate their suffering and dreams and build on this land of broken peace a new peace founded on justice.

The logic of the military super-powers which seeks to construct a system of domination and exploitation ignores the hunger and poverty in the world, intensifies the monopolistic power structure of world economics and politics, accelerates the arms race which has the possibility of exterminating the human race, and provokes conflicts among social groups and classes. We must find a way to eradicate the confrontations and struggles initiated under this militaristic structure between the students and the military, the students and the workers, and between the workers and the military, especially in this, the International Youth Year.

In order to build on this land "a new heaven and a new earth" when "He will wipe away every tear from our eyes. and death shall be no more, neither shall

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there be mourning nor crying nor pain anymore" (Revelations 21:1-3), and recognizing once again that unification is the only way to overcome conflict and division, we here make the following resolutions for peace through act and prayer.

1. Unification, which is the road to peace cannot be the exclusive possession of the government. Because those who most ardently wish for peace are the weak, the poor, and the oppressed, that is, peace is their most longful and sighful truth, these people must be the main currents in the unification movement. Therefore, discussions about the unification problem must no longer be a monopoly of the government. Neither must the government disrupt or suppress the church in its work toward unification. Moreover, this problem of unification must not be a part of the super-powers' political, economic, and cultural hegemony.
2. The North and South Korean governments, must not, for their own purposes of prolonging political power, obstruct the unification movement with ideological conflicts. The governments must not mislead the nation by isolating or concealing information regarding the unification problem for their own propaganda purposes. We strongly urge the governments to create ways in which we can share in dialogue so that we may be able to understand the mutual realities of the divided situation.
3. The undying wish of the Korean churches for a democratic and just society should be the cornerstone for overcoming this state of division. We recognize that the ultimate purpose of unification is democracy and justice and therefore, the unification movement must be based on the ideas of justice and democracy. Furthermore, in our work, we must not be afraid of sacrifice nor difficulties. If we are to be integral participants in our nation's history of democracy and peace, we must place these fears in perspective. Therefore, democracy, justice, unification, and peace, must be the objectives of the movement to realize God's kingdom on this land. We have, up to present times, been involved in the people's movements for democracy and social justice. We must make even a stronger commitment with deeper devotion to these movements for our people and our nation. All these movements should converge toward the goals of peace and unification. In promoting the peace movement, we must try to bring to reconciliation the hostility which is so deeply rooted in our tragic history. We must discover and expand on the idea of homogeneity of our people to serve as a basis for reconciliation, co-existence, and communal interests. For these tasks, it is urgent that the Korean churches execute a peace education program as building a cultural atmosphere of peace is an important first step.
4. We assert that on the basis of our faith in the peace of God's kingdom, all the Korean churches have a duty, a right, and the freedom to participate and initiate work in the unification movement. We, as participants in the suffering of the people, bear witness to God's love and justice. We also confess that we bear a responsibility for not having yet resolved this state of division which was the result of foreign manipulations. At the same time, we repent and make the confession that to be initiating participants in overcoming division is a command given to us from God in order to establish God's peace on this land. We the Korean churches, must become a forum for public discussion of the unification problem.

In concert with this, we have resolved to put out a white paper on peace for the Korean churches so that the unification movement does not become a blind or reckless journey. This white paper will establish the apologia and method of praxis for the Christian movement's role in peaceful unification. We do this in order that everyone involved in the peaceful unification

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movement may be coordinated and be in solidarity with one another.

In order to participate in the unification movement, the Korean churches must overcome its divided state and work to link the bloodline of our nation. Being guided by the peace of God's kingdom, the Korean churches must be willing to lay itself on the sacrificial alter. We again confirm our cooperation with the peace movements so that we may overcome this divided reality and establish a true peace on this land. For this end, we must conquer the conflicts which arise out of differences in sex, class, ideology, and religion - all those that act to divide. We must instead shake the hands of reconciliation. It is also important to build solidarity with world-wide ecumenical movements and work together with them in changing this unjust system and in creating a new just order. We give our most earnest prayers toward this end.

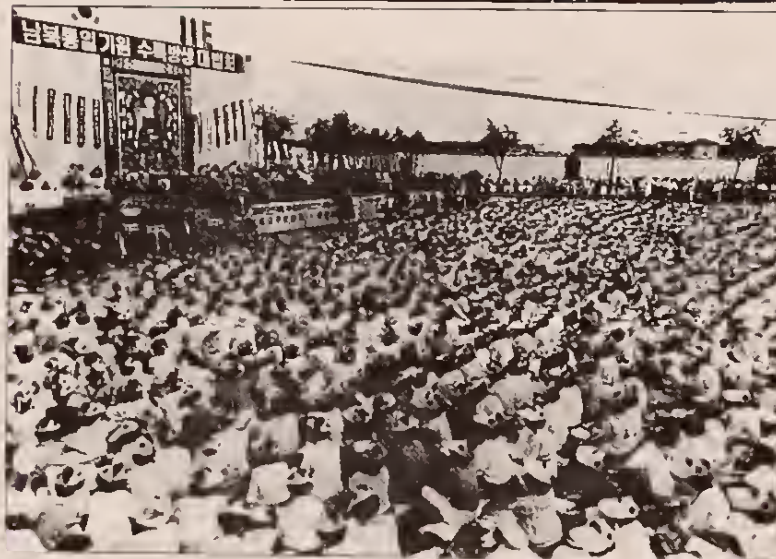
To establish peace and a unified nation, we are guided in our work by the Holy Spirit and by our faith in the people. This faith allows us to conquer our fears as we remain faithful in our commitment to establish God's kingdom on this land.

28 February 1985  
Members of the 34th General Assembly of  
the National Council of Churches Korea

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THE KOREA HERALD, TUESDAY, AUGUST 11, 1987

(第3種郵便物(가) 執認可)



Yonhap  
BUDDHISTS RALLY FOR NATIONAL UNIFICATION — Thousands of Buddhists attend a rally for the reunification of the divided country in Kangnung along the east coast Sunday. Following the rally, they released captive fish as a token of benevolence.



## Future Priorities of NCC - Korea

In the process of evaluating the last three years, the NCC has formulated program priorities for 1987-1989. The following excerpts were taken from the document "Planning for the Future."

The introduction emphasized the importance of democratization while relating the excitement found within Korean people's struggle for "self-liberation." "Democracy is a form that will allow people to participate maximally in the mainstream of social and political life. ...Churches can take the role of a catalyst in this process."

### The Priorities

1) Theology and Ideology: "As the struggle for democratization has intensified the search for an ideological option to the present political system has emerged sharply. ...Can churches in Korea overcome the anti-communism which has been closely linked to U.S. foreign policy, and has also been used as a tool of ideological indoctrination over the last 40 years? ...What will be the form of government for the unified nation of the future?"

2) Democratization: This "not only involves change of political form but also includes

a systematic change in education, freedom of press, and in all other basic freedoms which need to be restored." Because culture and nationalism are closely related, "[a]uthentic cultural expression has become an important matter in building national identity."

3) Human Rights/The Right to Survive: "One of the struggles of Korean Churches has been to remain on the side of the poor. ...In spite of external and internal pressures, NCC member churches have been able to be supportive of the struggle of the poor in their own survival. The defense of basic rights has been closely linked with this stance. What is further required is advocacy for a fuller understanding of the concept of human rights itself [through, for example, a] new draft of the constitution."

7) Peace and Reunification: "Peace in Korea is closely tied with the task of reunifying the country. The division of the nation has been used as a pretext for military build-up on each side, generating hostilities between the two. ...The churches must... play a meaningful role [beginning with implementation of] peace education and ...[overcoming] their own strong anti-communism."

June 18, 1986

FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF OUR DIVIDED NATION

The national partition is a tragedy that must be overcome.

Therefore, we should all be ready to negate what has been produced so far during our divided history in order to create a unified history in the future. In these years of division, we have been denied national homogeneity. Even the minimum identity indispensable to a national unity, has been distorted and virtually taken away by the ruling group's ideological warfare. To us, unification means transcendence of our pains. It can never be a tool to alienate the MinJoong. We shall achieve unification only through sincere self-denial.

Unification movement must start from the viewpoint of the nationalist liberation movement against foreign powers. Furthermore, the fundamental purpose of unification is to build a society where basic human rights and the right to participate in a democratic political process are secured for all individuals. Thus, the movement to democratize our society is a very vital condition for unification. In consequence, our unification has to be achieved through mass movement in the national context, based on democracy.

The subject of unification is the MinJoong. This is neither a simplistic slogan of romanticists nor an eloquent statement of a certain group of politicians. People who are struggling honestly and sincerely to survive on this land are certainly the masters of history and therefore, the subject of unification. Only those who are now sacrificing their lives for democracy and independence in this peninsula will lead this present age to unification.

The Catholic Social Movement Council



CENTENNIAL STATEMENT  
OF  
THE KOREAN METHODIST CHURCH

April 5, 1985

"Faced as we are with the forty years' tragic division of the Korean peninsula, we express our longing for unification of the nation in any form possible through peaceful means in the earliest possible time. This must be done through establishing a democratic political structure based upon freedom and human rights, and must be fulfilled by working toward the establishment of a just society built for the sake of the people. Therefore, we reject any form whatever of dictatorship. Deploring the long history of our nation in which the reality has been the sacrifice of our country's political life, and now with a definite sense of national self-determination which rejects any domination by the superpowers, we disavow any form of war or the taking of life, and commit the whole strength of the Korean Methodist Church to the peaceful reunification of our country."

STATEMENT  
ON THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA  
BY  
The Presbyterian Church of Korea  
The Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea  
The Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.)

Occasion and Setting

Representatives of the Presbyterian Church of Korea (PCK), the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (PROK), and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) (PCUSA) give thanks that God has granted them the opportunity to meet January 22-23, 1986, at San Francisco Theological Seminary, San Anselmo, California, in an historic consultation on reunification of Korea.

Our Belief and Calling

We believe that peacemaking is an essential part of the mission and calling of our churches. We realize that the Peace of God is not the same as the peace of this world. Existentially the Cross is the point of intersection where the conflict between the powers of this world and the will of God is manifest.

The Cross provides the evidence of our redemption and salvation; the basis for resistance to the forces of oppression and injustice; the power of reconciliation; the imperative to love even our enemies; and the symbol of Christ's identification with those who suffer and the hope for their liberation.

Our Affirmations

Therefore, the Presbyterian Church in Korea (PCK), the Presbyterian Church in the Republic of Korea (PROK) and the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) (PCUSA) make the following affirmations:

We affirm the responsibility of our churches to pray and work for justice, reconciliation and peace.

We affirm the necessity for our churches to work in our respective societies to overcome the "enemy images", that perpetuate hostility and prevent the building of trust.

We affirm that our three churches will make reconciliation and reunification of South and North Korea a priority for ministry and mission.

We affirm the responsibility of our churches to educate their constituencies on the issues involved in Korean reunification.

We affirm the autonomy of each church in working in its own way yet commit our churches to pray together, to consult and work together where possible in this ministry.

We affirm our commitments to work together with our ecumenical

partners as appropriate in this ministry.

We commit ourselves, separately and together, to work for and encourage exchanges between Christians and others in South and North Korea, and the United States of America.

We affirm our commitment to learn from churches living and witnessing in different social systems.

We affirm the commitment of our churches to support in all appropriate ways the witness and growth of the Christian Church in North Korea as our relations grow.

We affirm the desirability of direct dialogue between Christians in South Korea and North Korea. The PCK, PROK, and PCUSA in consultation with our ecumenical partners will explore the possibility of such dialogue.

We affirm the appropriateness of visits to North Korea by the PCUSA. When such visits are contemplated, the PCUSA will inform and consult with the PCK and the PROK.

We affirm the desirability of the establishment of an Ad Hoc Committee on North Korea by the PCK, PROK and the PCUSA for the purpose of continuing dialogue and consultation on reunification, joint study, exchanging information and facilitation visits to North Korea.

We affirm the desirability of designating a Day of Prayer for Peace in Korea, and pledge our commitment to work toward a common date in our churches.

We affirm the need for each of our churches to become strong advocates for effective policies for peace and reconciliation in Korea.

We affirm the need for increasing peace education in each of our churches and urge that this concern be referred to the appropriate office in each church.

We affirm our commitment to walk in humility, with open minds, prepared to change our ways, fulfilling the ministry of reconciliation, under the Lordship of Christ.

## WOMEN'S DECLARATION '85

-in unity with the Minjung, for the Nation and  
for Democracy

Excerpts

On the occasion of worldwide Women's Day, we confirm our solidarity with the worldwide women's movement, and at the same time we recognize the special situation of the Korean women's movement which is in the process of setting new directions.

Today we are living under a situation which threatens the life of our whole Korean nation-- military competition between south and north due to the tragic division imposed by outside forces; the excessive burden of the military budget; the deployment of nuclear weapons; and the tension of the ideological struggle. Yet this situation has also become the excuse which prevents the democratic development of the whole society.

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A proper women's movement must be characterized by its work for our national reunification, rejecting the foreign power which brought about the division of the country for its own benefit. The proper movement must be away from political oppression and back to democracy, to accomplish the democratization of society and equality between women and men. It must be based in the minjung movement, supporting those who are struggling for their very existence.

Therefore, as our women's movement goes forward in unity with the minjung for our nation and for democracy, we declare the following:

- We oppose the solidifying of the national division in obedience to outside pressure, and we reject the setting up of nuclear capability on the Korean peninsula. We insist that discussion of reunification must be open to include the minjung, and that political, economic and military policies forcing the sacrifice of the minjung and subordinating them to the great powers, must be corrected.

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March 8, 1985

Women's Department, The National Council of Churches in Korea  
Korea Church Women United  
Women's Department, Korea Student Christian Federation  
Women's Mission Committee, Ecumenical Youth Council  
Korean Association of Women Theologians  
Professional Women Church Workers, Presbyterian Church ROK  
Women for Equality and Peace  
Women's Hot Line  
Another Culture  
Housewives' Association of Korea Christian Academy  
Women's Department, Youth for Democracy  
Women's Department, Incheon District Joint Social Action Association  
Women's Department, Korean Labourers' Welfare Association  
Catholic Women Farmers' Association

Q. & A. : Woo Sang Ho

# A 'Moderate' Tells Why Students in Korea Fight

**S**OUTH KOREAN university students were the principal force in the protests that culminated in June with street fighting in Seoul. Partly because of these protests, the Government accepted most opposition demands, notably for direct presidential elections. Yet many students say they will continue to demonstrate. They say they mistrust almost everyone — the Government, opposition politicians, the domestic and foreign press.

Woo Sang Ho, who is generally regarded as a relative moderate, is president of the student body of Yonsei University in Seoul, one of the most prestigious and politicized campuses. In a recent interview in his campus office, the 24-year-old Mr. Woo, who is majoring in Korean literature, explained student goals and attitudes to Nicholas D. Kristof, a New York Times correspondent. Excerpts follow.

**Question.** Haven't you gotten what you wanted?

**Answer.** People in America think that just because we got direct elections, it's over. That's just the beginning. The people in the present Government have no right to be there and know nothing about democracy.

**Q.** Didn't the Government promise freedoms?

**A.** Suppose a burglar goes into a house and robs a family of all its belongings. The neighbors tell the burglar to stop, and they make a big scene. So the burglar, afraid of being killed, leaves a broken radio behind to mollify the people. But he's still a burglar. And if he comes out and says he's going to help the family, no one is going to believe him. We want the abolition of this Government, not just a few favors to justify the Government staying in power.

**Q.** Will there be more demonstrations?

**A.** Not just violent demonstrations in the streets, but we'll also find other ways to press our demands.

**Q.** Will there be more violence, more street clashes?

**A.** No, we're not going to demonstrate in a way to make people mad at us. We'll have peaceful demonstrations. But if the Government and police try to stop us, then there'll be some violence. We're not going to stand by and be hassled.

**Q.** Is it right for students to use violence?

**A.** Violence can be justified. For example, violence against Nazis was legitimate.

**Q.** Is the Government truly like the Nazis?

**A.** It's hard to make a precise comparison. The oppression in (Occupied) France must have been more severe, because it came from abroad. But we're fighting against military fascism. The fascism in Korea is directly related to Hitler's Nazism.

**Q.** Couldn't you go to jail for saying that?

**A.** I'm not afraid of going to jail. As a student leader, it's something I take for granted.



The New York Times/Nicholas D. Kristof

Woo Sang Ho

**Q.** Will you have difficulty getting a job?

**A.** It would be an honor if I didn't get a job because of my activities. I'll be doing the same thing I am now, fighting for democracy.

**Q.** When the American flag was burned on July 9 and the crowd applauded, were you clapping?

**A.** I was not there, but if I had been there, I would have applauded. I'm not angry with individual Americans, who in general are kind, but with the system. We're controlled militarily by the Americans, who hand down commands to our military. Culturally and economically, we're very much a part of America. Farmers and laborers aren't getting their share of wealth, because a lot of their sweat and hard labor goes abroad. And the reason our country is divided is because of America.

**Q.** There are 42 million South Koreans and 42,000 Americans in Korea. How can they control you?

**A.** Those 42,000 Americans are as powerful as we are, because they represent all of America.

**Q.** Aren't your people being made richer by selling cars and televisions and other goods to America?

**A.** I can't deny that the exports have helped the Korean economy. But the United States has benefited as well. And our laborers are being sacrificed. They work for low wages in bad conditions, and the Americans are taking advantage of the situation.

**Q.** Isn't Korea divided because of the arrival of Soviet forces in 1945 and their refusal to allow elections for a unified Government, and because of the incompatible systems in the North and South?

**A.** Until I was in high school, I was taught that. By studying history, I found that the reason for separation was that America also wanted North Korea under its own control, just as the Soviets did. If the Americans had allowed Korea to have its own Government at that time, separation wouldn't have happened.

**Q.** If it weren't for America, Korea would have been unified in 1950 after North Korea attacked, and the president now would be Kim Il Sung.

**A.** We were sacrificed by the superpowers. America selected a President for South Korea, Syngman Rhee, and Russia selected a president for North Korea, Kim Il Sung. If everybody had left us alone, we would have selected our own leader. Russia was responsible, but the U.S. played a bigger role in dividing our country.

**Q.** Aren't many of the Americans here on the North Korea border, risking their lives to deter an attack?

**A.** As for the individuals on the border risking their lives, we feel gratitude and sympathy. But there's a conspiracy. They are being sacrificed just as we are.

**Q.** Do you regard North Korea as a better system?

**A.** We are blocked from getting any information about the North, so I can't say whether it is good or bad. But they are the same people we are, and I'm sure that they want peace as much as we do.

**Q.** So is there no risk of attack?

**A.** I don't think North Korea will attack first. Our Government always says we can't have democracy here because of the North. But we don't believe it.

PART V  
NEW DIRECTIONS  
FOR U.S. POLICY

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PART V - NEW DIRECTIONS FOR U.S. POLICY

**Discussion  
Questions**

1. In his July 21, 1987 speech U.S. State Department Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Gaston Sigur, strongly criticizes north Korea but ignores the shortcomings of the U.S. and south Korea. (p.65 ) He talks about development in north Korea taking place at phenominal cost to the human spirit. Has the development in south Korea taken place at phenominal cost to the human spirit? What is the problem with his statement that north Korea spends 20 percent of its GNP on the military and has a three to two preponderance of ground forces? (pp. 23-24)
2. What actions for peace are called for by Gaston Sigur? What does he think the U.S. should do? Is that adequate? He says, "We bear no hostility toward anyone." Why have we singled out north Korea as a country with which trade is illegal even now, thirty-four years after the truce?
3. Gaston Sigur says that history shows that conflict between a divided people need not be forever. Does he ever mention the word reunification? The NCCC-USA policy statement calls upon the U.S. government to affirm formally that it is a policy goal of the U.S. to support the peaceful reunification of Korea. Would such a statement be helpful?
4. In the article "Korea: Asian Paradox" (p.67) former Ambassador to the ROK William H. Gleysteen has suggested important steps that the U.S. should take that would reduce tensions and the risk of war and signal American willingness to engage in further reciprocal steps. What are these steps?
5. Korea is the only country in the world where the U.S. operationally controls the presumably sovereign armed forces of another state. Why does this relationship exist? How would we feel if a foreign government had operational control over our armed forces?
6. What gesture of good will did Washington make? (p. 68) How does DPRK Deputy Foreign Minister Kang Sok Ju feel about it? (p. 68) What more should the U.S. do to reduce tensions?
7. After his 1981 visit to north Korea Professor Lee Man-woo made a number of common sense suggestions concerning U.S. Korea relationships. What are they? Does it seem like anyone making U.S. foreign policy has followed his advice? Which of the suggestions are still relevant? What can we do to encourage the development of a foreign policy that will lead to an atmosphere of peace and understanding? (p.69)
8. List suggested specific steps for shifts in U.S. policy toward Korea in "AFSC Perspectives" (pp.72 ) and the NCCC-USA Policy Statement (p.84 )?



# Korea: New Beginnings

United States Department of State  
Bureau of Public Affairs  
Washington, D.C.



Current  
Policy  
No. 989

*Following is an address by Gaston J. Sigur, Assistant Secretary for East Asian and Pacific Affairs, before the Foreign Policy Association, New York City, July 21, 1987.*

Since 1950, and especially over the last several months, the world has devoted a great deal of attention to the Korean Peninsula. Recently, this interest has focused on the phenomenal developments on the southern half of the peninsula involving our ally and enduringly close friend, the Republic of Korea (R.O.K.). We must keep in focus the developments, or their lack, not only in the Republic of Korea but also in the northern half of the peninsula. Let me begin with a few observations on developments in the South, then offer some perspectives on the North and on North-South relations.

The United States has built its policy toward the Republic of Korea on bedrock including three main components: security, democracy, and economic partnership. All are interdependent: a stable economy promotes greater security; greater security enhances the economy; steps toward democracy enhance both the R.O.K.'s security and its economic progress. When we talk about the U.S. relationship with the Republic of Korea, we must include all three parts of the foundation.

Our commitment to the defense of the Republic of Korea remains firm. At their request, we have contributed to the Koreans' ability to defend themselves, assisting with the shield behind which

the Korean people have built their phenomenal economic growth and begun their democratic modernization. Koreans have earned and deserve every credit for their accomplishments and for the courageous, inspiring path on which they are now embarked. Americans justifiably take pride in having contributed to the defense shield behind which these important developments could occur.

Koreans have taken remarkable steps in recent weeks to build toward democracy. Koreans have a proverb, "*she jagi panida*," which translates approximately as "well begun is half done." While there is still much work to do, it is clear to all that the Korean people have begun the process very well. We applaud those accomplishments and

encourage both government and opposition parties to promptly complete the process which has been started.

We lend our full support—unqualified—to the Korean people and to whichever candidate they choose to be their next president in an open and fair election. We are prepared to work with a fairly elected Korean Government to carry our close alliance and deep friendship even beyond the point it has reached today. Let me be clear on this point: anyone who claims that he has or will get the support of the U.S. Government as a candidate is wrong; we lend our full and enthusiastic support to the process but not to any individual or party.

Our neutrality in this contest is appropriate and fitting. As much as we, as friends, cheer the political modernization process, Koreans must make their choices. We continue to hope that all major institutions in Korea will play a constructive, neutral role as the people assume the important and exciting responsibility of choosing their leadership and managing their own government.

There is, of course, a specific outcome in the economic area we hope to see—a greater opening of the Korean market. We will work closely with the new administration which takes office in February 1988, toward continuing the process of liberalizing market access and thereby encouraging the kind of balanced growth in our trade that helps both our peoples. Protectionism is a "product" we reject, whether "made in U.S.A." or "made in Korea."

## North Korea

As all of you know, North Korea unbridled its aggression against the South in June 1950. At the request of the Government of the Republic of Korea, the United States and other members of the United Nations joined to help the Republic throw back that aggression, to stop the war. Since that time, the Korean Peninsula has remained a dangerous arena where two different economic and social systems, and very different political structures, have faced each other across the demilitarized zone.

In the intervening period, Koreans on both sides have had to rebuild a peninsula ravaged by war. Koreans in the South, faced with destruction of

their land, have built one of the miracle economies of the world.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (D.P.R.K.) has also built its economy from the devastation of war, providing the base for considerable industrial development and a basic, if spartan, standard of living for its people. But it has done so at a phenomenal cost to the human spirit and individual freedom. And it has misallocated its resources by emphasizing the buildup of a military machine far larger than is justified by legitimate self-defense needs. North Korea's military budget absorbs over 20% of its GNP [gross national product]; and it has a three-to-two preponderance in ground forces over the R.O.K.

The democratic process now underway in the South is all the more stunning when contrasted with the closed society to the north. While the Republic of Korea embarks on a path toward greater openness, toward a fuller and more prosperous future, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea remains trapped in a bubble of isolation and repressive bureaucracy, breathing and rebreathing an atmosphere of polemics and fear. The concepts of free elections and multiple parties would be unthinkable in a state where public information and expression are tightly controlled and manipulated.

In addition, the North has isolated itself internationally by its often outrageous activities abroad. Its support for international terrorism was most directly manifested by its own assault upon Seoul's leadership in 1983, the callous bombing attack in Rangoon targeted against President Chun Doo Hwan, which killed 17 senior R.O.K. officials. Pyongyang also has persisted in aiding communist insurgencies in troubled areas and in providing surrogate forces to bolster such warfare and instability far from its own territory. Whatever the motives or impetus for its behavior, North Korea has earned a reputation for being volatile and unpredictable. Earning a new reputation and image internationally requires more than words; it requires real, positive actions.

Sadly, we have too often seen the North try to force its will on the people in the South. Those who continue to persist in provocative, destabilizing policies will remain in the backwaters of political and economic stagnation, separated from the mainstream of regional and global progress taking place around them. That is a self-defeating posture and one we hope will be abandoned in favor of productive international participation and cooperation.

We hope that some day the northern portion of Korea will choose to follow a

path similar to that now being blazed by the southern half—that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will come to realize a more open and free society is intrinsically more stable, more secure, and better able to meet the challenges of the future.

### North-South Cooperation

The saddest irony, however, is that, despite many differences North and South, this is a single people divided, with the same fascinating culture, with the same long history, and with the same boundless potential.

Since the beginning of 1986, constructive contacts between South and North Korea have dwindled. The distrust and hostility which have developed between the Korean people must be overcome. History shows that conflict between a divided people need not be forever.

History provides many lessons. Those who fail to learn from the past are doomed to repeat it; on the other hand, those too preoccupied with the past, who cannot shake free from old fears and outdated formulas, can be entombed—forever—in the past.

The only way to build real progress and to develop an enduring trust between people long divided is through an active policy of peace, not war—through building for the future, not seeking revenge for the past. Many such proposals have been on the table for some time: economic cooperation, family contacts and reunification, trade, return of remains, cessation of slander. Others could proceed from there, such as broader contacts between political leaders from North and South, greater involvement and participation in international fora, and cooperation on joint projects to benefit the entire Korean people. We regret that the three channels of dialogue begun in 1984-85, largely at R.O.K. initiative, were unilaterally suspended by the North in January 1986. It is not for the United States or any other third party to make specific proposals; Koreans on their own can find the right steps.

This past winter and spring, we watched closely the interplay between North and South over resumption of dialogue. As we often have said during that process, we saw hopeful signs on both sides. We joined many others in genuine disappointment that, despite the effort of both governments, including the South's constructive proposal for prime minister-level talks, formal dialogue failed to resume. We remain committed to North-South dialogue as

the essential ingredient toward a genuine reduction of tension. We urge further efforts to resume dialogue, to ignore past grievances, to concentrate together on real and achievable objectives, in order to demonstrate to all Koreans and to the world that Koreans are ready to take their peninsula into a new age, to write a new history of progress and achievement.

To those who say conflict between North and South is inevitable, to those who say it would take a miracle to end the hostility, I have only one answer: the events of the last few weeks and years in Asia have restored my faith in miracles. But it is not really miraculous at all: the Korean people are extraordinary people. If we are surprised by the economic growth and the political progress in the Republic of Korea, it is only because outsiders have consistently underestimated Korean determination and Korean talents. If Koreans determine to make progress, if they choose to use their talents to promote understanding and reduce tension, I—for one—will underestimate neither their potential nor what they might accomplish.

The past is past. The future provides opportunities for new, positive actions and relationships. The world will be watching.

Today Korea stands on the threshold of a new age. The 1988 Olympics are barely a year away. This event—to which all Koreans, wherever they reside, should look with pride—is likewise a celebration in which all Koreans should participate. From their ancient origins, the Olympics were designed to bring people closer together. The United States earnestly hopes that the 1988 Olympics will fulfill the age-old tradition, will impress upon the Korean people their uniqueness and their potential, just as those Olympics held thousands of years ago helped the Greek city-states nurture their own longings for peace and an end to conflict. For our part, we stand ready to send American athletes to Korea to compete in the Seoul Olympics, including Olympic events held in Pyongyang.

We genuinely hope the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will grasp the opportunities now before it.

• The International Olympic Committee's (IOC) historic offer to provide Pyongyang a role in the Olympics, which would be a unique event in allowing the world to see Koreans working together, allowing free movement of people between the two parts of Korea, and demonstrating that past differences cannot block cooperation. The peninsula thereby can be a model for international harmony, peaceful achievement, and

concrete results. We applaud the R.O.K.'s unselfish acceptance of the IOC's proposal.

• The even greater opportunities and challenges presented by the resurgent expansion of the economies of the Pacific, including, but not limited to, the splendid growth in the Republic of Korea. There are things that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea must do on its own to help usher in a new age for the peninsula, including greater commitment of resources and manpower to the civilian sector; development of economic reforms following the positive experience of other countries in East Asia; and greater involvement in the international economic system. Economic interdependence not only stimulates individual national growth but also provides greater common security and well-being. We hope, therefore, that the leadership of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea will work toward bringing their country into the community of nations.

We call upon North Korea to cooperate in lessening conflict and strengthening regional peace. We also call upon the allies of the D.P.R.K. to work with us to reduce tensions on the peninsula and to create a healthier environment to stimulate prosperity, peace, and the flourishing of the Olympic spirit. We are prepared to do our part in ushering in a new era of peace in Korea; earlier this year, for example, we changed our diplomatic contact guidance toward North Korea in hopes of creating a more favorable environment for progress in South-North relations. We recognize, however, that our role—as well as the role of the North's allies—is secondary to that of Koreans themselves. Ultimate responsibility for the state of North-South relations, of course, resides with the people of Korea.

The U.S. Government and American people hold an unwavering, unbreakable commitment toward the security of our ally, the Republic of Korea. At the same time, we bear no hostility toward anyone. Americans, bold and resolute in defense of peace, remain bold and unswerving in the desire to help build peace as well.

I believe the people of Korea, both North and South, now face historic opportunities and challenges. We urge their leadership to implement the positive; to pursue contacts, not confrontation; and to adopt cooperation as the new watchword for all of Korea. Only this way can new possibilities and prospects begin to materialize. ■

Published by the United States Department of State · Bureau of Public Affairs  
Office of Public Communication · Editorial Division · Washington, D.C. · July 1987  
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# FOREIGN AFFAIRS

SUMMER 1987

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Council on Foreign Relations, Inc.

Vol. 65, No. 5 © 1987

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## KOREA: ASIAN PARADOX

EXCERPTS (pp. 1051-1052)

Pyongyang has for years blamed North-South Korean tensions on the U.S. military presence and the high level of U.S.-R.O.K. military exercises. Particularly sharp rhetoric has been directed at the annual "Team Spirit" military exercise, the largest annual exercise in the world. Conducted for the past ten years, in 1987 Team Spirit involved over 200,000 South Korean and American forces and lasted for about three months. Whether of genuine concern to North Korea or not, it at least provides a pretext for Pyongyang's noncooperation, and it is frequently cited by the Chinese as an irritant that only enhances Moscow's leverage.

The United States may be forced for purely budgetary reasons to cut back on the scope of the Team Spirit exercise in future years. But, particularly in light of Pyongyang's announced stand-down from major field exercises since early 1986, the United States should seize the initiative to reduce—in meaningful measure—both the scale and duration of the exercise. This need not harm South Korean readiness or U.S.-R.O.K. collaboration and it could signal American willingness to engage in further reciprocal steps. In any case, it would put the ball back in the North Korean court.

Beyond these rather limited measures, the United States should press the R.O.K. government to develop joint positions on long-term mutual and balanced force reductions to be negotiated with North Korea as well as the conditions under which they could be discussed with Pyongyang. Actual movement in this arena seems most unlikely for some time, even if there is considerable change in North Korea's behavior. Major changes would be unwise in the absence of an overall peace settlement—a prospect for the distant future, at best. But as South Korean forces reach rough equivalence to those of the North, the time has come to develop proposals for reductions that would preserve the relative military balance on the peninsula. These would help deflect potential domestic criticism in South Korea over defense spending, offer a way to reduce tensions and the risks of war, and take the initiative away from the D.P.R.K., where it has long resided.

# Cocktail diplomacy

US slightly softens its stance  
towards North Korea

By John McBeth in Seoul  
and Nayan Chanda in Washington

26 MARCH 1987 • FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW

American diplomats normally circle around the sombre dark-suited men with Kim Il Sung badges on their lapels at diplomatic receptions. But all that is about to change. Instead of commenting on the weather during chance encounters, and then moving away, they can now talk about more substantive matters — provided the North Koreans begin the conversation.

The US decision came after two months of deliberation and is designed both to create the climate for the resumption of North-South Korean dialogue and also to induce Pyongyang to either participate in the 1988 Seoul Olympic Games or at least to take a less disruptive approach.

US Secretary of State George Shultz discussed the issue both during 12 hours of contacts with Chinese leaders Deng Xiaoping and Zhao Ziyang in Peking, and later with South Korean President Chun Doo Hwan during a five-hour stopover in Seoul. Shortly before the Washington announcement, a Chinese delegation arrived in Pyongyang to brief Kim on the Shultz visit.

While the details of the conversation between Zhu Liang, director of the International Liaison Department of the Chinese Communist Party, and Kim are not known, Zhu is believed to have underlined the importance of responding positively to the US overture. Having hurred its finger once in 1983 by promoting US-North Korea contacts, China obviously wants to make sure that things go better this time.

The significance of the US gesture lies in the fact that a similar order was issued on 30 September 1983 and then rescinded nine days later when a North Korean-planted bomb killed South Korean cabinet members in Rangoon.

Diplomatic sources say Peking has been pressing the US for some time to broaden its contacts with North Korea, partly to balance growing Soviet influence and partly to make clear its true military commitment on the divided peninsula. They say the Chinese are now apparently acknowledging that their own clout in Pyongyang has been weakened by Soviet military and economic assistance and by increased trade between China and Seoul.

The Rangoon incident meant a particular loss of face for China because during his talks with US Secretary of Defence Caspar Weinberger in September 1983, Deng had assured him of North Korea's peaceful intentions and called on the US to help reduce tension in the Korean Peninsula. In fact, just a day before the bombing incident China had passed on to the US a North Korean message seeking direct contact with Washington.

The State Department says the revised guidance will allow US diplomats to "respond substantively when North Korean diplomats initiate conversations in neutral settings," normally a reference to embassy cocktail parties. As one official explained: "Under the old guidelines we could shake their hands and at best nod if they said 'the weather is nice.' But then we were to break off conversation quickly." Asked if avoidance of bilateral meeting meant the US and North Korean diplomats had to meet with a third party present, an administration official explained that during a reception hosted by a third country, US and North Korean diplomats could go into a corner and discuss whatever matter they choose.

It is understood in such conversations the Americans will seek to explain their own position, but at the same time they will place any serious bilateral overtures within the framework of North-South dialogue, which has been stalled since early last year.

Although the US believes this is the first time the South Koreans have felt confident enough to say that some good might come out of the move, Seoul officials are anxious all the same that nations friendly with the US, particularly those in Europe, do not feel encouraged to make hasty attempts to improve relations with Pyongyang.

The officials say it is still premature to determine whether the latest developments are encouraging or not, but they are anxiously awaiting the outcome of US Undersecretary of State Michael Armacost's 16-19 March talks with Soviet officials in Moscow where the Korean question was high on the agenda. They are also hopeful that both the Soviet Union and China will reciprocate the US initiative by allowing their diplomats to talk to their South Korean counterparts.

US and South Korean officials in Seoul caution against reading too much into the easing of the restrictions, and one US source said any suggestion of direct talks with North Korea was out of the question until the North-South dialogue yields substantial results.

The North Koreans have been trying to interest the South Koreans in high-level political and military talks, with the incentive of offering to discuss the controversial Kungang Dam issue (REVIEW, 20 Nov. '86). In late December Kim proposed for the first time high-level political and military talks between North and South Korea. That proposal, considered significant by some US analysts as indicative of acceptance of the legitimacy of South Korea, has been further softened.

Chinese leaders briefed Shultz on the new North Korean proposal calling for high-level — meaning at deputy prime minister level — talks simultaneously with the resumption of economic, parliamentary and Red Cross talks that have remained frozen for a year. This latest offer seems to take into account US-South Korean objection to Kim's December proposal.

Diplomatic sources say South Korean officials are divided over the North Korean overture. Senior political leaders are aware that they would be unable to use the talks to exercise any influence over the North's closed society, while Pyongyang might manipulate domestic opinion in the South.

Because of these constraints, US officials are doing nothing to push the South Koreans into the talks, though Foreign Affairs Vice-Minister Park Soo Gil has indicated that the last of three North Korean letters received on 3 March did contain elements that require a studied response. □

— Washington Post  
September 27, 1987

NORTH KOREA FORCE  
CUTBACK HAS BEGUN  
Gesture Said Aimed  
At Reducing Tension

Continued from page 46

Kang said he is prepared to have "contact" with South Korean officials during his current trip to New York, but that this is different from the official talks the north has proposed.

Regarding U.S. policy, Kang expressed frustration with the results of a shift announced by Washington in March permitting U.S. diplomats to conduct conversations with North Korean officials at diplomatic receptions and other "neutral" locations.

"The idea was good but we have just exchanged greetings, talk about the weather, food and such," Kang said. "If we attempt to discuss something of a political nature, the Americans are reluctant to talk . . . Just contacts at social functions cannot solve our problems."

Kang said North Korea is "surprised" and "disappointed" at recent U.S. statements suggesting an increase in U.S. air and naval deployments around South Korea before and during next September's Seoul Olympics in order to deter any interference from the north. North Korea fears this is a "pretext" for more militarization, he said. "We have no intention to take any action" to interfere in the games, he said.

Kang said North Korea still hopes to host some Olympic events, a possibility that has been under negotiation with the south and the International Olympics Committee. He said the failure of Pyongyang to participate might contribute to a "complicated" environment, including unwillingness of some non-aligned countries to participate in Seoul. He seemed virtually to concede that the Soviet Union and Chinese athletes are likely to be in Seoul, saying that "we don't care" whether they participate.

# JOURNEY TO NORTH KOREA--PERSONAL PERCEPTIONS

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Institute of East Asian Studies  
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Berkeley, California 94720

 INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA • BERKELEY

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## Excerpts

### How North Korea Sees Itself..

Manwoo Lee

#### What Is to be Done

Since the division of the Korean peninsula in 1945, at least ten million Koreans have been separated from their families. They have never seen each other again. Considering this, I was one of the very few fortunate Koreans to have the opportunity to see both Koreas. If I learned anything from the trip in the summer of 1981, it is that neither side wants another war. In Pyongyang I told my hosts that the U. S. troops and the South Korean armed forces are not offensive but defensive. They did not believe me. In Seoul I told some responsible people that Pyongyang is not interested in attacking Seoul and that Pyongyang is very defensive. They did not believe me. Each side continues to view the other as an implacable enemy, both sides are consumed with fear and hatred. I wish that several million Koreans on each side could visit the other. If they did, they would learn that neither side wants another fratricidal war. What is important is that both sides must correct their tendency to see the other in a mirror reflecting a denier. What is imperative is that each side must empathize with the other.

So far, both sides have mobilized their best brains to misread each other. North Korea has been perceiving South Korea so much through its church's lenses that the South Korean reality is completely lost to it. Likewise, the North Korean reality is lost to South Korea. If both sides were to understand Robert Kennedy's words that "the final lesson of the Cuban missile crisis was the importance of placing ourselves in the other country's shoes,"<sup>8</sup> there would be some hope for the two Koreas.

To conclude, I should like to offer the following suggestions, hoping that these would be considered by policy makers in Seoul and in Washington in their efforts to reduce tension on the Korean peninsula.

We need to reexamine the official American mythology that North Korea's only goal is to communize the South. The assessment of North Korean belligerency has been made with little firsthand observation. The defense community needs to sensitize itself to North Korea's nightmare, its obsession with survival.

We need to assess North Korea's internal situation more accurately. Thanks to the increasing numbers of travelers to Pyongyang in recent years, the flow of information about North Korea is increasing. It is clear that sifting through the volumes of rhetoric from *Nodong Sinmun* and Radio Pyongyang cannot match firsthand information. Those who have visited North Korea recently point out that the main emphasis in the North since the early 1970s has been on peaceful construction. If it is true that North Korea is concentrating more on this, it would seem time to reevaluate that society. North Korea, despite its rhetoric, seems aware that it cannot match the South economically. Kim Il Sung was reported to have said, "We are in a state of inferiority to the South in all areas."<sup>9</sup> Some impressions I gained from my trip to the North confirm this suspicion. North Koreans I met talked more about how their country has been rebuilt since the war than about foreign affairs. They talked about self-sufficiency in food production, new apartment complexes, upgrading the quality of consumer goods, importing technology from abroad, and finally making North Korea a socialist paradise. Visitors to North Korea do not get the impression that it is interested in risking another fratricidal war with South Korea. North Koreans complain about their defense expenditure burdens. They worry about labor shortages. They are constantly reminded of the war that destroyed every city, every village, and every industrial and agricultural base in their country. Clearly, the notion that North Korea is likely to risk another war to achieve unification is exaggerated. North Koreans are not so stupid as to risk occupation by the United States.

We need to expose North Korea to the United States. Though it may sound naive, Pyongyang's contacts with the United States might introduce a measure of realism into its policy, and this realism might eventually prove beneficial to South Korea as well as to the United States. It has been often said that despite regular contacts between the United States and the Soviet Union relations between the two have not improved. On the other hand, U.S.-Soviet relations might be much worse if neither had talked to the other. Soviet scholars and journalists who regularly visit the United States have a much more sophisticated and accurate view of the United States than they had during the Stalin era. North Koreans need their own Georgi Arbatovs. They need to allay their fear, which largely accounts for their militant behavior, that South Korea is a bridgehead for penetration into North Korea by the United States and Japan. The task of improving the perception each Korea has of the other is by no means easy. It is psychologically useful for each to kick the enemy around. Depriving them of an enemy might be a blow to their psyches—and even their power—but the continuing cycle of vicious misunderstanding must be broken. North Korea especially, the product of decades of self-centered political indoctrination, must not continue to be narrow, rigid, and poorly informed about the outside world.

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We must make certain psychological adjustments in anticipation of new things to come under changed circumstances, aided by our improved knowledge about the Korean peninsula. We must free ourselves from the mythology that has done so much damage to fifty million Koreans and many Americans. The American policy of doing what is best for South Korea and what is worst for North Korea has not brought about the desired results. The recognition of this fact is the first step in the right direction. This mythology produced the militarization of South Korean society, which in turn has led to a deterioration in the quality of South Korean political life. South Korea's increased defense capability and America's steady supply of modern weapons to South Korea have not made South Koreans feel safe. The cold war tensions harm both Koreans and the United States. What is the point of building an exterior defense at the cost of internal ruins?

The United States must gain the confidence and respect of both Koreas rather than just one—a posture no one belligerent world leader. North Korea has been knocking on the American door. If the United States realizes that both Koreas do not want another war and that North Korea is just as wary of Soviet expansionism as the United States is, a new policy toward the Korean peninsula is possible. A dialogue focused on mutual interests and carefully pursued by the United States need not be detrimental to South Korea and the United States. Further, it is in the interest of them both to make some effort to change the North Korean perception of them. The continuation of the present cold war can push the North into desperate international ventures. The United States must realize that North Korea's primary concern is its security, and that to North Korea even the issue of reunification is bound up in their overall security concern. North Korea, I believe, is ready to accept two Koreas, provided the myth of one Korea is kept alive.

A dialogue between the United States and North Korea need not compromise America's commitments to South Korea. As Roger Fisher of Harvard University says, talking to an adversary is not a sign of weakness. By hanging up the phone and cutting the line, the United States deprives itself of the opportunity to affect North Korean behavior. Talking to North Korea conveys no approval of its philosophy and conduct. To paraphrase Fisher again, all parties should not decide first and argue about positions but should talk about interests, generate options, and decide later.<sup>10</sup>

10. *The New York Times*, September 24, 1981, p. 27. *The New York Times*, September 26, 1981, p. 23.

Manwoo Lee is professor of political science at Milledale State College (Pennsylvania) and cofounder of *Journal of Developing Areas*. His numerous studies include "Argentine Political Instability," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* (1969); "China after Mao," *Chinese Affairs* (1978); and "The Prospects for Normalization of Relations between Moscow and Seoul," *Korea and World Affairs* (1980).

## Conclusions .....

B. C. Koh and C. I. Eugene Kim

### Final Reflections

We came away convinced that the United States should undertake a reappraisal of its policy toward the DPRK. Washington's apparent perception that Pyongyang is dangerously militant, aimed to the teeth, and poised for an invasion of the South appears too simplistic. The reality, of which we cannot claim to have scratched even a tiny surface, is far more complex. North Korea's militant rhetoric masks a deep sense of insecurity, and its leaders seem as eager to defuse the Korean powder keg as the policy makers in Seoul and Washington. The status quo needs to be altered so that a more enduring peace may be secured. If there is little inducement for the United States to respond positively to North Korean overtures for direct talks at the cost of alienating the Republic of Korea, there are a number of measures falling short of direct negotiations that could materially help improve American-North Korean relations. One such measure is the encouragement of academic and other exchanges between the two countries. Exchange implies a two-way flow. North Korean scholars must be encouraged and permitted to visit the United States for legitimate academic reasons. Harsh restrictions on the movements of North Korean diplomats assigned to the DPRK Observer Mission to the United Nations should be relaxed under appropriate circumstances. The trade embargo on North Korea should be lifted for non-strategic items. Finally, the possibility of ambassadorial-level talks in a third country should be explored.

Of primary importance is preserving peace in the Korean peninsula, and our firsthand observations of the moods and perceptions of the principal adversaries lead us to believe that the greatest danger to peace in Korea is mutual distrust and misunderstanding. We hope that our trips to North Korea represent a small step in the long and hard journey toward alleviating such conditions.

8. John G. Siscoyings, *Nations in Darkness: China, Russia and America* (New York: Random House, 1975), p. 176.

9. *The New York Times*, August 10, 1980, p. 12. Kim was reported to have said this to Rep. Stephen Solarz (D.-New York).

# Two Koreas— One Future?

Edited by  
John Sullivan and Roberta Foss

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*A Report Prepared for the  
American Friends Service Committee*

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## Chapter 8

### A FUTURE FOR KOREA *An AFSC Perspective*

The preceding chapters have presented a range of viewpoints and analyses about events on the Korean peninsula and the current realities of a divided country. This final chapter provides an AFSC perspective and offers a number of suggestions that seem to speak to the current situation and give promise of opening the way to a brighter future for Korea.

The AFSC perspective reflects the Committee's Quaker roots. Because of their particular perception of the divine-human relationship, for three centuries Quakers have regarded all persons as children of God, not to be debased or destroyed for any reason under any circumstances. For them, nonviolence has been more than a tactic; it has been a way of life. They have insisted that means determine ends, and that if conflicts are to be resolved without sowing the seeds of new conflict, they must be resolved by peaceful means.

This is the philosophy, tested by the Committee's direct experience in Korea itself and around the world, that governs our approach to the tensions that plague this divided nation caught at a focal point of Great Power conflict. In Korea, we seek paths for North-South reconciliation that will lead toward reunification, shaped by the Korean people themselves on both sides of the DMZ. In our view, such an approach is not visionary; it is an attainable goal whose achievement should command the efforts of all men and women of good will.

It will not be easy. The division of Korea by the United States and the Soviet Union in 1945 at the end of World War II has in the years since been widened by war and the conflict of ideologies, and what was traditionally a single state and a single people has been split into two separate states deeply suspicious and hostile toward each other. A particularly poignant aspect of the division that goes beyond geography and politics is the reality that ten million Koreans are separated from family members on opposite sides of the thirty-eighth parallel. Despite the passage of more than forty years, the

tragedy of split families remains a powerful reminder of the human consequences of the division. But it also provides a dynamic for reconciliation and reunification; in spite of all that has happened, the American Friends Service Committee has found that people in both the North and the South continue to keep alive their hopes for a better future. Indeed, we have found this hope for family reunion and national reconciliation one of the two most powerful emotions a visitor encounters in Korea today. The other is the people's profound fear of war.

This fear is exacerbated by Korea's geographic location, which makes it a locus of cold war tensions. The United States maintains nuclear weapons and forty thousand troops in the South, while both China and the Soviet Union are in a position quickly to introduce major military forces across the borders they share with North Korea. Miscalculation or escalation of a minor incident could lead to a military confrontation and renewed war between North and South. These realities are deeply troubling to a people who have known first hand the suffering that war and occupation bring.

Eloquent pleas for reunification have been made by many Koreans. In the words of Ham Sok Hon, the venerable Quaker leader in Seoul:

The thirty-eighth parallel is an absurdity from every angle, contrary to reason, something inconceivable. There is every reason that it ought to be eliminated, and it should in fact be easy to do so, once one's mind is set on it. The thirty-eighth parallel is not a line to be resolved by the sword, but one to be settled by reason, principle of right, the heavenly way, and human character. What is required is a will to life, with the realization of what life is and what the path to life is. This is a line that can be lifted in no time.

No army, however large or powerful, on either side of the line can possibly keep a nation asunder, a nation which says "We are one...." (Queen of Suffering, p.162)

Given such longing, made more urgent by the fear of war, what are some of the positive factors that might give substance to hope, and what are some of the obstacles that must be overcome?

One important positive factor in working toward reconciliation is to be found in the commonalities among all Koreans. They share a Confucian heritage, the values of which remain a powerful influence today. The primacy of the family and the importance of education, keystones of this Confucian legacy, are evident not only within the boundaries of the Korean peninsula, but also in Korean communities overseas. Additional factors are a common language and culture which have enabled Koreans to resist being assimilated into the culture of occupying powers over the centuries. Even during the thirty-five year period of Japanese colonization, Koreans maintained a strong sense of national tradition and identity despite extreme pressures to deny their Korean heritage, language, names and religion.

Some observers argue that this strong sense of Korean identity will be the most important factor in achieving Korean independence and reunification. They believe that this identity, rather than imposed ideologies, will enable Koreans to recreate wholeness on the peninsula. There is a mystical element in this, an expression of faith. It leads some who yearn for reunification to resist defining concrete strategies or steps. Reunification, they say, will happen because it must. If there are no contrary external interferences, the Korean people will make it happen and will determine the form it will take. This belief in the inevitability of reunification is a positive and important factor in Korea's ability to reunite peacefully, although it is unlikely to provide sufficient impetus in itself. Specific steps are also needed.

A series of positive steps was taken by government and Red Cross representatives of North and South Korea in 1984 and 1985 as they engaged in talks and sponsored family visits across the DMZ. However, neither the people of the North nor of the South have had a determining voice, or have even participated in these negotiations. Certainly any efforts to negotiate, even at the governmental level, are a welcome move away from unremitting tension and periodic hostilities between the two governments. At the same time, most of the sixty million people on the two sides of the DMZ have been so isolated from each other, and so kept in the dark by their governments, that they are now incapable of informed discussion. In order for negotiations to be meaningful and enduring and for a solution to represent the will of the people, ways must be found for popular participation in the process.

Such participation of the Korean people will be the primary factor in determining the future of Korea. At the same time, Korea does not exist in a vacuum. Outside powers have had and continue to have significant impact on events there. Over the centuries, Korea has borne the brunt of the aggressive policies of its neighbors, especially Japan. The division of Korea by the United States and the Soviet Union after World War II has had profound effects on several generations of Koreans.

For a combination of reasons, China's current policies have helped in a modest way to reduce tensions between North and South. China has been serving as a mediator between North Korea and the United States and has entered into discussions with South Korea about direct trade and economic cooperation. This welcome development may continue, since China believes that peace in Asia is essential for the success of its current priority on domestic development. The Soviet Union has also placed revitalization of its economy second only to its own security. Like China, the Soviet Union would greatly benefit from peace in Asia. Yet, while the Soviet Union has supported the North's proposal of tripartite talks among North Korea, South Korea and the United States, it has also recently provided modern military planes and equipment to the North, an act that can only further heighten military tensions.

As Moscow and Beijing seek to address their own internal econom-

ic problems, they are also attempting to end the rift that has divided them. In addition, leaders in both Moscow and Beijing have held high-level discussions with U.S. policy makers about Korea, discussions which presumably are aimed at tension reduction on the peninsula.

In many ways, Korea's most difficult major power relations are with Japan. North and South Korea share the thirty-five-year history of Japanese occupation and colonization and the negative legacy of that period. People on both sides of the thirty-eighth parallel celebrate August 15 as the day of liberation from Japanese rule, and both the South and the North responded quickly and negatively to Japan's textbook revisions of a few years ago which minimized Japan's actions in Korea and elsewhere in Asia prior to and during World War II. It would be ironic and unfortunate if the perception of Japan as the common enemy were one of the forces helping to draw North and South Korea together. Chung Kyungmo's chapter, above, indicates the depth of his feelings toward Japan. These feelings are not atypical among Koreans and are of great concern to many sensitive Japanese who deplore their country's record in Korea.

On balance, Japan's ruling party prefers the present division to a united Korea which might be an economic and political threat to Japan. At the same time, many Japanese recognize that current tensions in Korea and the uneasy status quo could develop into a war between North and South that would threaten Japanese investments in the South and possibly spread to the Japanese islands. While maintaining its relations with South Korea, Japan has made a number of overtures toward agreements with the North. Among these are a fisheries agreement, agreement on direct charter flight service between Tokyo and Pyongyang, visas for visiting North Korean gymnasts and others, and travel by Japanese to North Korea. It is not clear that Japan's relations with both the North and the South are intended to encourage the interest of eventual reconciliation between the two Koreas. Rather, they may represent efforts to recognize both, while continuing to support division.

A desirable step for Tokyo toward tension reduction in all of Northeast Asia would be to reinforce its commitment to remaining a peaceful nation. That would mean standing up to pressures from Washington to increase its military budget and abrogate its constitutional commitment against war.

One South Korean has observed that one of the greatest obstacles to reconciliation and reunification in Korea is the export to Korea of the U.S. security doctrine, which places primacy on the military and on military solutions to political problems. There is little question that modification of military and political attitudes toward Korea in Washington would reduce the threat of war. U.S. policy has been frozen in a cold war attitude toward Korea since 1945. However, recent indications are that some changes may be underway. Washington has shown some flexibility and willingness to hold top level discussions about Korea with leaders in both Moscow and Beijing and for the first time granted visas (for a three-day stay) in 1985 to three North Korean scholars to attend an academic meeting in Washington. This is a welcome beginning, but much more is needed to support constructive negotiations and open communications with North Korea.

If the United States government is to be encouraged to find a more flexible policy toward Korea, and especially an openness to relating to North Korea, there will need to be greater popular understanding of the people and issues involved. Information about the North as well as the South must be widely available in the United States. Knowledge about both sides may begin to create awareness that each side in the Korean division has had substantial success in building a viable society. The more people know about Korea, the more they will see that each side is neither as bad as its detractors would have us believe, nor as good as its government's own information bureaus and official statistics would indicate. The expansion of U.S. visits to North Korea would not only let Americans see for themselves but would also help North Koreans be exposed to a diversity of views. This process would assist a loosening of tension on both sides.

We turn now to some concrete suggestions based on AFSC discussions with North and South Koreans, with other religious organizations, with representatives of the U.S. State Department, with diplomatic officials at the United Nations, and in conferences with Korean residents in North America. From these varied sources, we conclude that progress toward reconciliation and reunification requires the following steps.

**1. Easing North-South Tensions:** South and North Korea should agree to continue and to sustain the momentum of talks begun in 1984-1985. Both sides should seek immediately to encourage open discussion about the issues and popular participation in the reconciliation process and both should continue and expand family visits and exchanges across the DMZ with private time allowed for reunited family members.

As an immediate measure to prevent outbreak of hostilities and to address the fears of war in North and South Korea, both sides should cease mutual vilification and inflammatory propaganda, and should agree on a mutual non-aggression pact and immediately reduce the number of troops on either side of the DMZ. These measures would be steps toward eventual elimination of all military personnel at the DMZ and toward a unified Korea, which would also eliminate the need for the mutual non-aggression pact.

China, the Soviet Union, Japan and the United States should be supportive of North-South negotiations but at the same time agree to a policy of non-interference in Korea. For instance, they could encourage direct negotiations between North and South on sending a joint Korean team to the 1988 Olympic Games, scheduled to be held in Seoul.

### **2. Shifts in U.S. Policy Toward Korea**

**Nuclear Weapons:** The United States, as the only party with nuclear weapons on the Korean peninsula, should take initiative to establish Korea as a nuclear-free zone, and as a first step should immediately remove all U.S. nuclear weapons from South Korea. This action, in addition to the positive factor that both North and South Korea are signatories to the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, would give impetus to discussion involving the major powers and the two Koreas on the larger nuclear-free issues.

**Military Involvement:** As a first step toward complete military disengagement in Korea, the United States should immediately cease military exercises in and around the Korean peninsula and undertake withdrawal of U.S. troops from South Korea. U.S. troops are in Korea because of perceived U.S. security interests, not for the defense of South Korea or in the interests of the Korean people. Removal of the U.S. troops from the peninsula would prevent their being drawn instantly into any new conflict. U.S. troop removal would also remove U.S. complicity in the human tragedies associated with any troop presence, including prostitution, subservience of Korean nationals, and corruption of minor and higher officials.

The high concentration of armed personnel and weapons is clearly dangerous to people on both sides of the DMZ. The deep fear of war in both North and South Korea has been mentioned above. People in the United States hear almost exclusively of the fear in South Korea, but we need also to be aware of the fear in the North, a fear that is exacerbated by the presence of U.S. forces, nuclear weapons, and the annual Team Spirit military exercises.

**North Korea:** In order to adopt a more open attitude toward North Korea, the United States should take these five steps:

a. Allow more North Koreans visas for visits to the United States and eliminate restrictions on travel by North Koreans in this country.

b. Release U.S. diplomats to have normal contact with North Korean diplomats throughout the world. Such contacts are valuable not only for their own sake but also because they offer opportunities for direct appraisal of North Korean personnel and policies and the chance to build personal relationships which may prove useful in unforeseen circumstances.

c. Use the good offices of China to find ways to open communications with the North.

d. Allow North Korean diplomats at the United Nations in New York expanded freedom of movement; they are now kept within a twenty-five-mile radius of New York City.

e. Be open to tripartite talks involving North and South Korea and the United States, with or without other parties present, as and if these seem appropriate.

**South Korea:** The United States should cease its direct support of South Korea's military government. While maintaining official recognition, the U.S. should also establish relations with those out of power, including religious leaders, opposition party figures, students and workers. To the extent that similar contacts are possible in the North, they too should be developed.

The United States should contribute to the easing of tensions by reviewing and changing those provisions of the 1954 Mutual Defense Treaty with South Korea that are provocative toward the North.

### **3. Positive Actions by China, the Soviet Union and Japan**

**China:** China should continue its efforts to mediate differences, especially between North Korea and the United States.

China should continue its trade and economic discussions with South Korea, moving to improve exchange between the two countries.

China should make clear that it would not send troops to support North Korea in a conflict with South Korea, especially when and as U.S. troops are withdrawn from the South.

**Soviet Union:** The Soviet Union should cease its supply of sophisticated weapons and aircraft to North Korea, and make clear that it, too, would not send troops to North Korea's defense in case of a conflict with the South, especially when and as U.S. troops are withdrawn.

The Soviet Union and China should engage Japan in discussions aimed at tension reduction in Northeast Asia.

**Japan:** Japan should continue its contacts with both North and South Korea and the granting of visas to visitors from both the North and the South.

Japan should develop policies that will serve not only Japan's interests but also the cause of reversing Japan's negative legacy in Korea. A beginning could be made with more equitable and just policies toward Japan's Korean residents.

Japan should reaffirm its constitutional commitment to remaining a peaceful nation. To do so, Japan will have to stand up to U.S. pressures to increase its military budget and expand its military role.

Japan should abandon its de facto support for a divided Korea and the status quo. It should explore ways in which it might, through contacts in both the North and the South, contribute to reconciliation on the peninsula.

Japan should participate in discussions with the other great powers toward tension reduction in Northeast Asia.

**4. Human Contact With Both North and South Korea:** Academicians, media personnel, Korean-Americans, ecumenical and other delegations should travel to both North and South Korea and report publicly on their experiences and observations, in the interest of providing accurate information and of demystifying the two Koreas.

**5. Shifts in U.S. Policy Toward Japanese Rearmament:** The U.S. should review and reverse the 1960 Mutual Defense Treaty with Japan and eliminate U.S. pressure on Japan toward expansion of its military budget and strengthening the offensive capability of the Japanese military. Peace and security of Japan itself, and of Asia generally, have been well served for forty years by a disarmed Japan. To recreate it as a military power will only revive old fears and increase insecurity throughout the Asian region, and especially in Korea, which has suffered grievously from Japanese militarism in the past.



To put these recommendations forward is not to suggest they are easy to accomplish. Entrenched hostilities, military tensions, an emphasis on military security, and a U.S. policy supporting the status quo are powerful factors in inhibiting positive change. Weighing against these negative factors are the visions of the Korean people and numerous pragmatic considerations.

Economically, a popularly reunited Korea would provide a large combined domestic market, many of whose needs could be fulfilled with its own resources. Reunification would ultimately allow an escape from foreign economic domination on the peninsula, and Korea could take advantage of trade with China and other major powers, according to its own priorities.

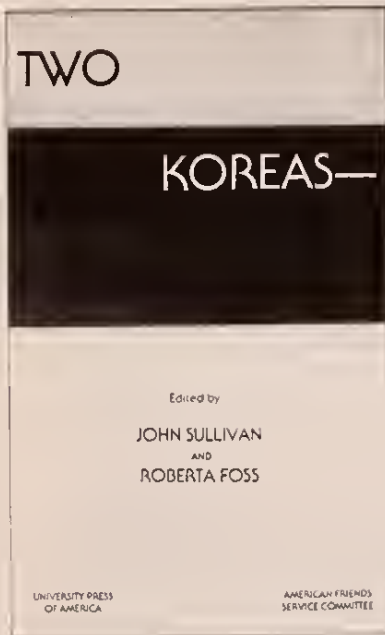
Given Korea's crucial location in Northeast Asia, creative changes in Korea could contribute to peace rather than tension in that region. Historically, peaceful reunification of Korea and its establishment as a nuclear-free zone would be of great significance. Korea is strategically located near three of the four great powers with which its present fate is entwined. It was occupied by Japan earlier in this century and by the two major powers after World War II. It has experienced the benefits and the liabilities of both capitalism and socialism. If Korea can transcend the current political division and establish a political and economic system specifically designed to meet its own diverse needs, the process could be a model for other Third World

countries that are struggling to develop independent domestic systems appropriate to their histories and cultures.

Surely a unified, nuclear-free Korean peninsula relieved of interference from any outside power would offer greater security in East Asia and in the international community than does the present concentration of weapons and taut-nerved military personnel along a narrow strip of fortified land.

We close this study with the hope and belief that all who have been concerned with events on the Korean peninsula in the past four decades may find guidance in the reflection of Ham Sok Hon:

It is time for the world to become one. This is the time for all who have been fighting and murdering each other, divided as they are by nation, by land, by race, by belief, by ideology, to put an end to all contradiction, all waste, and all misunderstanding. Failing that, the best efforts will be a brake on history, the highest level of morality a deadweight to sink history, the greatest talent will prove a deadly poison. Total mobilization thus becomes all the more urgent to bring humankind together. Nothing short of a new interpretation of world history can bring it about. Only the realization that we are brothers and sisters of a common ancestor will bring an end to fighting. (*Queen of Suffering*, p. 4)



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PART VI  
THE CHURCH RESPONDS

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SUGGESTIONS FOR STUDY: In addition to reading the policy statements and David Suh's "Penitence for Peace" obtain the book PEACE AND JUSTICE IN NORTH EAST ASIA (see page 98) and read the Findings and Recommendations from the Tozanzo Consultation, October 29 to November 2, 1984.

Discussion  
Questions

1. In "Penitence for Peace" (pp. 75-79) David Suh calls the church to confess its guilt. What are the sins we are to confess? In what way is division incompatible with Biblical faith?
2. What is the theological foundation for being involved in a ministry of reconciliation? (NCCC-USA Policy Statement p. 80)
3. How did NCCC-USA become involved in the issue of Korean reunification? (See NCCC-USA Policy Statement, "Contributing to a World Wide Ecumenical Endeavour" P. 81.)
4. Why do U.S. Christians have a special responsibility? (p. 83)

# KOREA SCOPE

## Special Issue on Reunification

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Volume 6, No. 2

December, 1986

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### Penitence for Peace: *Toward a Theology of Reunification*

David Kwang-sun Suh  
Ewha Womans University

*Presented at the Fourth Korean-North American Church Consultation, Honolulu, Hawaii, September 29-October 3, 1986.*

#### Han of August Moon

*Choosuk*—the day of the full moon of the lunar month of August, is the ancient thanksgiving day. This is the day for all Koreans to offer the year's harvest to heaven and to pay their respects to the ancestors spirits at the family graves. Family members scattered around the world come back to the family grave site in the hills of the hometown to celebrate Choosuk—thanksgiving day. This is an annual family reunion day—family members living in *this* world gather together in the presence of the spirits of family members in *the other world*. This is the time of reconciliation—some arguments, crying and weeping over a little rice wine, but departing with a feeling of consolation and reconciliation in the names of the ancestor spirits.

According to a newscast, more than ten million people left Seoul to celebrate Choosuk this year at their southern rural ancestral graves. I went with my family to my parents-in-law's grave site about 20 miles northeast of Seoul. Our teenage boys asked me whether I thought I could visit my father's grave in Pyongyang during my life time. As I could not respond to the question quickly, their second question attacked my already emotional consciousness: "Do you think you can find your father's grave in Pyongyang?"

Millions of Koreans left home in 1950, promising that they would come back home to celebrate the next Choosuk at their family grave sites. I left my father's grave on the southern hillside looking over the Daedong River, without ever seeing the green grass growing on the mound. My father was a freedom preacher: when he was young he refused to worship at the Shinto shrine, and left Korea for Manchuria in self-imposed exile. When we came back to our North Korean hometown, he became an anti-Communist preacher, talking about the Exodus and liberation. On the eve of the Korean War, he was taken by the North Korean police. I found his bullet-ridden body on the Daedong River bank on an evening of freezing October wind.

When the August moon is full and bright, millions of us separated in the North and South swallow the tears that well out of our broken hearts of deepest *han*—longing for the family members left behind, with shame and guilt for our "escape" from danger to safety and comfort. I feel sorry and guilty that for more than 35 years as the first son of the Suh family, I cannot go to my father's grave and trim the grass on the mound. Millions of Koreans on both sides lost their family members in combat and in bombings, in

torture chambers and in firing lines in dark nights of horror, and have experienced doubts about their beliefs and deep confusion about ideologies. Scars of division and wounds of war are carved into the *han*-ridden hearts of Koreans. The shame and guilt of division and separation is the collective subconsciousness of the Korean people. Cain's murderous hands are not yet dry from the blood, and the cry of Abel's blood is still haunting the land.

But still the bright August moon is inviting us to a Choosuk family reunion, to the harvest festival for reconciliation among the living in the presence of the dead. Sons and daughters of Cain, and daughters and sons of Abel are called into the house of God for reunion and reconciliation. But the sons of Abel are crying out for the blood of Abel, from their deepest wound, and spit out hatred, vengeance and killing. And the daughters of Abel are weeping not just three nights but thirty years over the deaths of their fathers, and for their *han*-ridden, widowed mothers. How can the sons and daughters of Abel make peace with Cain? And yet God is calling them first to make peace with their enemies (Matt. 5:23-4), before they come into the house of God.

Most Christians, in the South and the North, seem to identify themselves with the sons and daughters of Abel and would ask the same question: How can the sons and daughters of Abel make peace with Cain? The Godless Cain is the one who murdered Abel. Cain is the one who divided the country. Cain is the one who wants to occupy the whole world. They would point their fingers at Cain and assert: Cain is strong and has powerful weapons; Cain should not be trusted, and he should be destroyed by God. But now, at the same time, more and more Korean Christians come to realize that the sons and daughters of Abel will have to live with the Cains, the sons and daughters of Cain, together, side by side, in peace, in order for them to survive and to live a meaningful life without fear of death and annihilation. Are they coming to the Choosuk feast table with cunning strategies to win the peaceful submission of the other side? For the Lord told them to be wise as the snake. But then, are they to be as innocent as doves when they come to the table of the Lord? (Matt. 10:16)

Whether snakes or doves, God is calling us to the table of the feast of reconciliation. And we are standing before God as children of God who are called to reconciliation, recognizing the brokenness of our relationship with God. That is, for reconciliation with God, we must recognize our brokenness, our sins against God. We must repent our brokenness with God and with our neighbors for reconciliation with God and with our neighbors. The gift of repentance is reconciliation with God. And repentance is the commandment for the Kingdom of God.

The Policy Statement of the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ, USA (NCCC/USA), states a partial confession of guilt: "As Christians we regard the need to overcome division not primarily from diplomatic or military perspectives, but rather from the side of a suffering, divided people whose pain we know well and for which we are truly sorry." (Lines 17-20) As Christians in Korea, we are called in the presence of God to confess our sins to the divided, suffering and *han*-ridden people. We must confess to God that we have committed the sins of division, separation, enmity, hatred, revenge and killing. As Christians in Korea we must confess in public that we have broken the commandments of God: we have worshipped political idols, and we have not loved our neighbors, and even helped kill our brothers and sisters. We are truly sorry, not simply because we sympathize with the divided and suffering people of Korea, but because we have committed—directly or indirectly—the grave sins of division, hatred and killing.

And yet, we are troubled because we are still struggling against the notion that we are not the ones to repent and confess our sins. We obstinately refuse to come to the table of the Lord to repent and confess our sins, and rather we lift up our faces to claim our righteousness. Therefore, when we respond to this call of God for repentance and confession of sin, it comes from the deepest agony of pain and suffering. This confession of sin comes from the cry of the blood of Abel, the victims, the oppressed, and the murdered. I for one am reluctant to confess my sin of hating to the marrow of my bones, those who killed my father; I would protest to God for justice: "Am I not right to take revenge on my enemies?"

Existentially, it is not easy to say "I am sorry" to my enemy brothers. And even in my faith, it is not easy to say to God "I am sorry" for my sense of justice that my enemies would be destroyed before my eyes. It is dishonest as a human to say that it is easy to forgive our enemies and even to ask forgiveness for our longing for justice and revenge. There is no sentimentalism involved. This has to be a heroic decision of faith, to accept the grace of God to repent and to confess our sins. This is a tough decision—to come to the table of the Lord in repentance and desiring reconciliation.

### Status Confessionis and Confession of Sins

Historically, it was not easy for the Korean Christians to come forward to confess their public sins. In 1936, the General Assembly of the then "united" Presbyterian Church of Korea adopted, though by force, a resolution to allow Christians to pay their respects at the Shinto Shrine. Those who refused to follow the

resolution and considered the matter a *status confessionis*, had to go to prison to endure torture and martyrdom. After the liberation in 1945, the whole Korean church was called to repentance and public confession of sin. The Christians refused, and for 50 years no voice calling for national repentance has been heard. By the same token, it is not an easy matter to discuss the national confession of sin on the question of division and suffering of the people in the divided peninsula. It is such a difficult thing, in fact, that the churches' theological arrogance remains the major road block to overcoming the division and moving toward national reunification and peace.

As Christians in Korea, when we recognize together, through our common faith, that overcoming of the division, maintenance of peace, and achievement of reunification is a matter of *status confessionis*, then the public act of confessing our sin and repenting the division, separation, enmity and revenge should come prior to the table of the Lord. The fact of the matter is that only a few Christians in Korea have stated publicly that peace and the reunification of Korea is a matter of *status confessionis*; and even fewer Korean Christians would respond to the call to repent and confess our sins against peace and the reunification of the motherland.

At the first meeting of leading Christians ever held on the peace and reunification of Korea, in August, 1986, Professor Park Jong Wha called for the confession of guilt of the Korean churches:

"The church that is called to be the community of peacemakers must first become the confessing community of guilt. The National Council of Churches... ought to lead a movement to publicly confess their guilt, that as Christians we not only did not put our efforts into overcoming the division, but we also justified the division consciously and unconsciously, and that thereby we have sought comfort and false security in the division." (Conference Document, NCCCK, August 25, 1986, p. 18, translation mine.)

This statement received a most sincere and serious response from the participants, and was further articulated by Professor Samuel Lee. As Christians we must confess *first* that we have not yet seriously recognized the division as evil, *second* that we have helped intensify the division, and *thirdly* that we have not put our utmost effort into overcoming the division. (Document, *op. cit.*, p. 25.) This public articulation is historically significant, because as we reflect upon the history of postwar Christian movement in Korea (i.e., following both World War II and the Korean War), this is the first such serious reflection upon the churches' confession in relation to the national division.

For most fundamentally, the division is the enemy of peace with justice. Most immediately, however, because of the division, millions of families were separated in North and South, and they had to suffer the pain of separation. Even more disturbingly, the division has become a value system, although false—an idol, a national consciousness. The division has developed a theology of division and alienation. The division has intensified the almost-blind fundamentalistic ideologies of the two Koreas. And in a vicious circle, the fundamentalist ideological stance of the two Koreas has made the separated walls of division ever higher. The most radical left on the one hand, and the most radical right on the other, have become national virtue, not only on the Korean political-ideological scene, but also in the inner psyche of the Korean personality. One must obey and follow the command either from left or from right; there is no conscious or reflective choice in between; and there is no opening for discussion of the other side's virtues. If you are not on my side, then you are on the enemy's side. Theology of division would not discuss the other side with an open mind, but would produce more ideological heresies and join the evil force of division. The basic values of the theology of division are hate, condemnation, denunciation, holy war, crusade, purge and killing. The theology of division only foments the cancerous epidemic of the mind which would take away personal growth, creativity, development and even life itself.

The theology of division brews militarism. Militarism is a theological idol created out of the theology of division. Militarism can stand firmly on the ground of theological hatred. The theology of division justifies the most fundamentalistic militarism, it pours ideological fuel into the already burning military fire. The other side has to be destroyed by military might, and this side has to be protected by military force—the stronger the better, the bigger the better, the fiercer the better, the more deadly the better.

In search of greater military strength, militarism in the divided, hostile country has to connect itself with the militarism of the superpowers. A divided country such as Korea is only a sub-structure of the division of the world. And the militarism which governs the divided segments of the world is only a sub-structure of the militarism of the superpowers. National and international militarism today, in the name of peace in the divided world, structurally violates basic human rights, exploits national economic development, destroys the basic integrity of national independence, and endangers the fundamental human aspiration to overcome the division with peace and justice. The theology of division in the life of militarism thus has a global implication.

Militarism in itself is an ideology or a religion, according to Matek Thee; it is "a system of beliefs and values that views organized violence and the use of force as indispensable tools of orderly governance, social order, and international ascendance" (Unpublished paper, "Militarism and Militarization: Their Contemporary Meaning," September, 1984.) National and ideological division is maintained by

militarism. That is, division is maintained and solidified by organized violence and the use of force. Militarism is the indispensable tool for social order, national security, and ideological conformity. Division fomented the psychology of fear and insecurity against the possible invasion of the other side. This psychology of fear and insecurity accentuates military strength. The military power that was to give comfort and security, on the contrary, creates more fear and insecurity in socio-political and cultural life. For the price of national security, the people are forced to conform to the military ideology. Voices of dissent and open criticism against the military ideology are condemned as subversive and anti-state. The theology of division has grown out of the psychology of fear and insecurity, under the political situation of division and the ideology of militarism. The theology of division grows fat on the fear and insecurity of the people in the divided situation, and it enjoys false security behind the idols of militarist politics.

The basic problem of the theology of division is that it seeks false security in the idols of military power, and that it has to endorse organized violence and the use of military force. Furthermore, the theology of division and the ideology of militarism deny the basic human rights of freedom of thought and free expression of God-given human creativity. Basically, the fundamental sin and crime of the theology of division and militarism is their organized and systematic killing of the human spirit—the killing of the image of God in human persons. They are against God in humanity.

Based on the theology of division and militarism, therefore, free and participatory democracy is impossible. Of course they claim that the division and the military power are to defend freedom and the life of the people, but in reality they only defend their division and the military interest. They force the people to believe in the theology of division and in the need to survive by military means. In the name of peace and national security, a whole country becomes a military boot camp. Educational systems are closely governed and controlled by the State. From elementary school on, the students are brainwashed with ideas of nationalism, national glory, ideologies of division, and glorification of military actions to destroy the other side. Education becomes, on the whole, a process of discipline and regimentation of peace and security, for a life of conformity and silence.

### Biblical Faith Against the Theology of Division

As Christians, our repentance has to come from our Biblical faith and trust in God. It is a difficult turn from the theology of division to the Biblical faith of reconciliation. It could be a hard sacrifice to give up the security that has been promised by the theology of division. But as Christians we must confess our collective sin of political idol worship before our God in Christ, the suffering servant of peace. In the theology of division, we would see Christ in the image of prince of peace who would conquer the world by nuclear might and give us safety and security. But in the biblical faith, he is no fighting prince of peace, but a suffering servant of peace on the cross. Jesus was crucified on the cross in order to overcome division—division of ideologies, division of God from humanity, division of the people. For on the cross Jesus "has broken down the wall of hostility, creating in himself one new people, reconciling all people into one body through the Cross." (Eph. 2:14ff.)

In the Biblical faith we recognize the iconoclastic nature of the Cross. The Cross denies and destroys the idols which have been molded in order to keep up the division and escalate hostility. The Cross is the iconoclastic power which destroyed the ideologies of militarism and the false theology of division. Thus, the Cross liberates us from our ideological enslavement, from our fears and insecurity, from our use of organized violence and brutal physical force. In the Biblical faith of the Cross, we shall not seek false security behind the false idols of national security, nor shall we worship the false gods of militarism which are created by the theology of division.

But the reality of the Cross is suffering, in the Biblical faith. As we read in the Gospel, Jesus had to suffer on the Cross because he denied the worldly political-economic ideologies: he did not make bread out of stones, nor did he worship the devil of political power. Jesus had to suffer on the Cross because he refused to stand behind the political ideologies of security and comfort. Jesus had to suffer the Cross because he denied the kingdom of power, the kingdom of violence, and the kingdom of forced silence.

The Cross of reconciliation is a painful and suffering process. And reconciliation on the Cross is not a painless harmony or a forced uniformity. It is a painful process of confrontation with the false idols of military politics created out of the ideologies of division. In the Biblical faith of the reconciliation of the Cross, as Christians in Korea, we must confess that we should overcome our ideological hostility against each other, and that we must free ourselves from our false identification of anti-communism with the Gospel. But this is to bear the political cross of Jesus and to suffer the life of an anti-state political prisoner. To confess the Biblical faith of reconciliation on the Cross is to bear the cross and follow the suffering servant Christ in our political life of division in Korea. This is a costly discipleship.

Finally, the cross of reconciliation does not particularly mean the negotiations and tentative compromises between conflicting ideologies and social and political systems. The cross is for the people suffering under the conflicts between the deadly powers and the weapon systems. The cross of

reconciliation is the healing of the wounded hearts and the deepest *han* of the separated people. It is the healing of the people's broken hearts. It is the healing of broken families, the healing of the scarred and divided people of broken Korea. If we identify ourselves with the cross of reconciliation and with the people, and not with powers and ideologies, we must come to terms with the suffering of the people in divided Korea. For we believe in the Lord of the Sabbath who declares that people are not for the Sabbath, but the Sabbath for the people (Matt. 12:8). This means that the cross has destroyed the ideology of the Sabbath for the reconciliation and healing of the people suffering under the yoke of the ideology of Sabbath.

### Ecumenical Solidarity in Confession

As Korean Christians, we are gathered here not merely to analyze and dissect the already broken body of the Korean people and to seek the serpent's wisdom for security and solidarity in safety. As a part of the world Christian community of peace, we have come to commit ourselves to the costly discipleship of the suffering Jesus Christ on the cross of reconciliation. We have come to confess our sins, to seek ecumenical solidarity in confession; for peace and the overcoming of the painful division of the people of Korea. For the community standing on the Biblical faith is the community of suffering in confession with the suffering people.

Korean Christianity is a confessing Christianity. One hundred years of Korean Protestantism stands on the tradition of confession. Korean Christians confessed Christ at gunpoint against the Japanese Shinto shrine worship. Korean Christians confessed Jesus Christ as the Lord of history against the powers that claimed themselves as destiny. Korean Christians confessed the God in whose image each human person is created, against the organized violation of basic human rights. Korean Christianity stands firmly on the iconoclastic faith of the Cross. We are once more called, in the presence of God, to confess Jesus Christ and accept the cross of reconciliation, in this most critical historical situation in the divided Korean peninsula, where the most hostile destructive powers stand in confrontation.

With the most profound fear and trembling before God, we are here to seek the Christian community of solidarity, by confessing that we have sinned against peace with justice in our world. We first need penitence for peace, before we plan and organize the management of the kingdom of peace. We must repent in the hope of the kingdom.

As Christians, we have sinned against the God of peace and reconciliation, by our slowness and negligence in working to overcome the division of the country for peace and reunification of the people of Korea. We have failed to heal the suffering of the separated people in the divided peninsula. We failed to realize that the overcoming of the division is for the very life of the people of Korea. We have been slow to realize that the process of overcoming the division has to come from the full participation of the people themselves, and only by peaceful means. We must confess that it is our Christian responsibility to work towards a just peace in the Korean peninsula and in Asia by overcoming the enmity and alienation of the people of divided Korea.

As Christians living in South Korea, we must confess our sin of faithlessness in God. We have given up our trust in God, transferring it to the powerful idols of militarism. We have sinned against God by seeking false security in the ideologies of national security and economic development.

As Christians living in South Korea, we have not seen the suffering people of North Korea in whom and among whom the salvation of God is at work. We have sinned against God who is working everywhere for everyone in the history of human kind without regard to race, culture or ideology. We have sinned against our brothers and sisters in Christ with mistrust, misunderstanding, hatred and revenge. We have sinned most gravely against God by praying for the utter destruction of the people in the North in the name of justice and peace.

As Christians living in South Korea, we must confess that we have not worked for peace and reconciliation to bridge the divisions and chasms among the Christian communities. We have sinned against Jesus Christ by dissecting the body of Jesus Christ into theological pieces. As the body of Christ we did not work for the reunion of the separated church communions, nor for the separated families in the North and the South.

Together, in the solidarity of our Christian faith, we must confess that we have sinned against God by putting our trust in nuclear power and in the organized military violence of the superpowers to maintain peace and security in today's hostile world. We must confess our sin of trusting in the nuclear umbrella and not in God. We must confess together in ecumenical solidarity that we must work towards peace and the reunification of Korea, as our Christian responsibility in today's world, and must witness to our Biblical faith through the process of negotiations and dialogues with the superpowers and our hostile counterparts. And we must confess that the suffering of the people of Asia, particularly in Korea, is caused and imposed by the belligerent superpowers of "Christian" civilization, of which we are a part.

Policy-building for the reunification of Korea and for peace on and around the Korean peninsula is an important task, for which we came here together in ecumenical solidarity.

# PEACE and the Reunification of KOREA

Policy Statement

Adopted by the NCC Governing Board  
November 6, 1986

National Council of the Churches of Christ  
in the U.S.A.

## About NCC Policy Statements

A policy statement of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. expresses the Council's basic position with respect to Christian principles and their general application to today's society and world. The 260-member Governing Board made up of delegations representing the NCC's 32 member communions is the only body that can approve such statements.

Developed through an extended study process that generally culminates with readings at two successive Governing Board meetings a policy statement

- guides the work of the Council.
- is commended to member churches for their consideration and
- helps influence public opinion.

Policy statements have a wide scope and form the basis for resolutions addressing current and more specific situations facing church and society.

The Korean people, whether they live in South Korea (Republic of Korea/R.O.K.) or North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea/D.P.R.K.), desire to restore the unity that was theirs for more than a thousand years before the end of World War II. In 1945 the nation was divided, its people separated into two increasingly hostile and heavily armed states, their enmity sparked and sustained by the global confrontation of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The churches and the government of the United States must hear the plea of the Korean people for reunification, and so revise attitudes and policies as to free them to pursue their national unity without external impediment. Several powers were and continue to be involved in creating and maintaining the division of Korea. But the government of the United States took the initiative in 1945 which led to the division. Furthermore our nation is the only foreign country which still retains an armed military presence on the peninsula. Therefore we must assume today particular responsibilities for assisting all Koreans who strive to overcome division by peaceful means.

As Christians we regard the need to overcome division not primarily from diplomatic or military perspectives, but rather from the side of a suffering, divided people whose pain we are coming to

know well: we confess that we share responsibility for their plight and for this we are truly sorry.

## The Christian Ministry of Healing, Reconciliation and Hope

As we state the policy of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. on the question of the reunification of Korea, and make recommendations to the member communions and to our government, we reaffirm these truths: God the Creator is one, and all human beings are God's children, co-responsible for the integrity of Creation. Jesus Christ is Lord and Savior of all humankind. The Holy Spirit seeks to draw all people into one and inspires all people to show forth the fruits of the work of the Spirit. The Spirit also seeks to bind the Church into a single body as a sign of God's desire that all people be one. These fundamental affirmations of our faith are the basis of our Christian sensitivity to the suffering which separation and division inflict upon people and the Church. The pioneer and perfecter of our faith, Jesus Christ, suffered, was crucified, died and was buried, but rose again that we might be reconciled to one another and with God. This same Christ who blesses the peacemakers and calls us to the ministry of healing and reconciliation gives us hope that division can be overcome, even against the greatest odds.

## The Threat of Division to World Peace

The division of Korea has had consequences which go far beyond the peninsula. It led to one of the most destructive wars in history between 1950 and 1953. It contributed to the deepening of the ideological cleft of the Cold War which has ever since locked the two major power blocks in potentially mortal conflict. It has been the locus of instability and conflict in the North East Asia region. It has provided justification for raising two of the world's largest standing armies which today, thirty-three years after the Armistice, continue to confront one another across a tense Demarcation Line near the 38th parallel. With the additional presence of a large number of U.S. troops and with the stationing or targeting of nuclear weapons on Korean soil, this line which divides Korea has become one of the world's most dangerous places. Along this global fault line the abrasive edges of the two great ideological systems grind against one another. Thus it is one of the main "hot spots" on the globe where an accident, a miscalculation, or a foolish gesture by one or the other side could trigger a devastating regional conflict or even a global, nuclear war.

## New Signs of Hope

By the grace of God this division need not be permanent; this people can have its unity restored. But that will require the sustained love, concern and dedicated work of people in many parts of the world in support of the efforts of the Korean people themselves in both North and South. After numerous frustrated attempts to achieve national reunification, many Koreans have felt powerless to make any progress toward the goal shared both in South and in North. In lesser measure, we too have felt this frustration and sense of powerlessness.



On July 4, 1972, the governments of North and South issued an important "Joint Communiqué on Peaceful Reunification." There they agreed on three basic principles:

- unification shall be achieved through independent Korean efforts without external imposition or interference;
- unification shall be achieved by peaceful means;
- as a homogeneous people, a great national unity shall be sought above all, transcending differences in ideas, ideologies and systems.

While the "Joint Communiqué" produced few tangible results, both sides continue to affirm those principles.

Since early 1984, however, there have been some encouraging new openings. There have been renewed official contacts between North and South Korea, the provision and acceptance of emergency assistance by the North to flood victims in the South, followed by official conversations regarding economic and humanitarian issues, culminating in the first exchange of visits between separated family members in North and South since the Korean War.

We see signs of hope for Korea which we, as Christians, believe are the work of the Holy Spirit. This is a moment, we believe, of *kairos*, a welcome, propitious, critical time to support our sisters and brothers in the whole of Korea as they seek to take their destiny in hand. This is a time for decisive commitment by the churches to help build a climate in North East Asia which would be conducive to pursuing those new opportunities. The biblical word *kairos* connotes an opportune time like that of harvest, a time for repentance and action.

#### Contributing to a World-Wide Ecumenical Endeavour

New initiatives have also been taken among the churches. South Korean churches identified reunification as a priority concern in early 1984, asserting their right and responsibility, as well as that of the people at large, to participate in the national discussion on reunification. A Unification Study Committee has been created by the National Council of Churches in Korea to this end. The Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches convened a consultation in the Fall of 1984 at Tozanso, Japan, on "Peace and Justice in North East Asia: Prospects for Peaceful Resolution of Conflict," which focused on Korean reunification with full knowledge of the two Korean governments. While recognizing that reunification is to be achieved by Koreans themselves, a major international ecumenical endeavour is seeking to mobilize support and establish favorable conditions for the Korean effort.

The NCCCUSA responded to this initiative by sponsoring the North American Ecumenical Conference on the Unification of Korea in December 1985, in cooperation with Canadian churches. As had been the case with the WCC consultation, this Conference was preceded by contacts with the two Korean governments. It was followed by intensive discussions between the NCCCUSA and representatives of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea regarding possible visits to their countries. Both sides agreed to this, and dialogue and consultation with church and government leaders took place in North and South Korea in April and May 1986.

#### A Focus of Tension and Conflict

Throughout their long history, the Korean people have been blessed with cultural, linguistic and ethnic unity, and a beautiful land, rich in resources and in productive agricultural areas which for millennia have been sufficient to support its population. The land is small, roughly the size of the state of Minnesota. An estimated sixty million persons live there, one-third north, two-thirds south of the Demarcation Line.

Korea has never posed a threat to its powerful neighbours: China, Russia (the present-day Soviet Union), or Japan. But its key strategic position bridging Asia and the Pacific made these oft-aggressive powers anxious to dominate the peninsula. Japan's main islands are located a scant 120 miles to the southeast. About the same distance to the west lies China's Shantung Peninsula. Korea shares its northern border for about 150 miles with China, and for eleven miles in the northeast with the U.S.S.R. Seventy-five miles further north is Vladivostok, one of the Soviet Union's principal naval bases, and a vital outlet to the Pacific.

Korea has for ages been a focus of contention among North East Asian powers eager to shore up their strategic defenses or to have a base from which to launch attacks against others. It is not surprising therefore that when the United States pursued its "Manifest Destiny" into Asia and the Pacific in the late nineteenth century, it also viewed Korea as a pawn to be conquered, controlled, neutralized, or traded in order to attain or preserve control over other territories. In the 1905 Taft-Katsura Agreement, for example, the U.S. secretly accepted Japan's ambitions regarding Korea on condition that the U.S. would have a free hand in the Philippines.

For centuries, Korea has been a barometer of the political climate of its region. Since 1945 it has become an indicator of the state of peace and security in the world. It was over control of this land that the Cold War produced its first hot regional war which claimed about four million casualties. Since then the "Korean conflict" has time and again reverberated beyond the borders of the peninsula and of the region. Across the Demilitarized Zone today are faced off, at the ready, two of the world's largest standing armies, each backed by super-power military forces which in case of any major contingency would almost certainly get involved directly or indirectly. The South's armed forces plus 40,000 U.S. troops are under direct U.S. command in the R.O.K.-U.S. Combined Forces Command, and are equipped with sophisticated weaponry. U.S. nuclear arms, the U.S. Pacific Fleet and U.S. bases in Japan, as well as logistic support from Japan's Self Defense Forces, strengthen the South's military posture. Current U.S. policy is to exert strong pressure on Japan to extend the scope of its regional military role. The North's armed forces, of a size comparable to the South's despite its smaller population, are neighbored directly by Chinese and Soviet allies with nuclear weapons based nearby in the eastern part of the Soviet Union. Frequent military incidents along the Demarcation Line between tense military forces on both sides threaten to explode into broader warfare.

#### Conflict and Division

Such conflict is not new for Koreans. Throughout its 2,500 years of recorded history, this land has

been trampled by armies pursuing conquest, subjugated by foreign powers, forced into unwilling alliances, occupied and humiliated. Despite this, for thirteen centuries before 1945, neither the land nor the people of Korea were ever divided. Therein lies both the tragedy of division and the hope that it can be overcome. People so bound together over millenia do not easily forget their common ancestry, history, tradition, language and culture, nor readily accept the division of their nation and land.

The annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910 marked the beginning of one of the cruelest periods in Korean history. The entire productive force of the nation was put at the service of the Japanese empire and the people reduced to virtual slaves in their own land. Hundreds of thousands of Koreans were taken as laborers to Japan. In the last stages, systematic attempts were made to erase the very memory of Korean language, culture and history, and Koreans were even forced to take Japanese names. The Koreans resisted foreign rule. In 1919 and again in 1929 there were major popular revolts which were brutally suppressed. From 1930 the courageous resistance against the Japanese moved underground and fought until Japan's surrender. The division of Korea in 1945 was not willed by Koreans. Liberation from Japanese Imperial rule on August 15, 1945 was greeted by people across the broadest political spectrum as the opportunity for which they had long struggled to restore Korea to Koreans and to establish a unified national government without external interference. But liberation and independence were fleeting. The United States, fearing that the Soviet Union would move to establish itself on the whole of the peninsula at the conclusion of World War II, proposed to the USSR that Korea be split temporarily along the 38th parallel until the surrender of Japanese forces was completed and the people could be prepared to govern their own affairs. The Soviet Union promptly agreed.

In the turbulent period following the division of the country, competing political forces moved to consolidate their power. The division was formalized through a United Nations plebiscite held only in the south which was under direct U.S. military rule. This resulted in the establishment of the Republic of Korea in Seoul on August 15, 1948, under the leadership of Syngman Rhee. Almost immediately, on September 9, 1948, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea was inaugurated in Pyongyang headed by Kim Il Sung and backed by the Soviet Union. Both claimed sovereignty over the entire peninsula.

Thus hopes that the division would rapidly give way to a reunified country were dashed, and tensions grew, culminating in the terrible Korean War between 1950 and 1953. It wreaked destruction hardly equalled in even the worst battles in Europe a decade earlier and left a heritage of bitterness and enmity still vivid more than a generation later. More bombs were dropped during this war than in the whole European Theater during World War II. Between 2-3,000,000 civilians were killed, wounded or reported missing. There were 1,000,000 Chinese casualties. Some 34,000 Americans lost their lives in those battles, too, along with 1,300 persons of other nations which contributed to the U.N. forces. By the end of the war, the families of some 10,000,000 Koreans were divided.

Such wounds heal very slowly, both in Korea and in our own nation. Their pain continues, and the scars remain.

At the end of the War, Koreans' hopes momentarily surged again. An Armistice Agreement was signed between the military commanders of the D.P.R.K. and the U.S.A. (representing the United Nations forces) according to which, "the military commanders of both sides (recommended) to the governments of the countries concerned on both sides that, within three months... a political conference of a higher level... be held... to settle through negotiation the question of the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, the peaceful settlement of the Korean question, etc." Tragically, decades later all these issues have yet to be resolved.

### Christian Witness and Reconciliation

Christianity was first brought to Korea from China by Korean Catholics more than 200 years ago. When American Protestant churches dispatched their first missionaries to Korea over a century ago, Korean Protestant lay evangelists were already there witnessing to the faith. A Russian Orthodox Mission began in 1910. The Gospel took deep root among the people of the peninsula, especially the poor, the sick and the exploited. During the period of oppression under the Japanese, Christians participated, sometimes in leading roles, in the people's struggles for independence and justice.

After liberation from the Japanese, Korean Christians soon experienced the pain of division very intensely. Many fled from the North after 1945, especially during the Korean War years. In the midst of the ruins and the desperate conditions of tens of thousands of refugees uprooted by war, Christian communities in the South carried on a remarkable ministry of caring among the victims. They rebuilt churches, schools, hospitals and social centers, with the help of churches in the United States and worldwide.

In recent decades the churches in the South have become among the fastest growing in the world. Many Christians have also become known for their courageous defense of human rights and democracy. Personal and formal relations have matured between South Korean and American Christians at many levels. Among them has been a series of consultations involving the National Council of Churches in Korea, the NCCUSA, and the Canadian Council of Churches.

Pyeongyang, now the capital of the North, was called the "Jerusalem" of Korean Christianity, and was the center from which the Good News spread throughout the country. However, after liberation from the Japanese, the Church in the North was decimated by social upheaval and war. Many Christians left because of the fear of life in a Communist society; thousands were killed by the violent tactics employed during the Korean War, especially the saturation bombing; among those who stayed, the experience of the participation of Christians in the war against them spread disillusionment; and many Christians left the Church under the pressure of a rigorously organized society. Christians in the North lost contact with each other, with those in the South and with churches around the world. After more than three decades of isolated existence during which the Korean Christians Federation in

the D.P.R.K. became more active, they have begun to be in touch again with churches abroad, beginning with those in the socialist countries of Europe. A few American Christians have visited the North in recent years, met Christians associated with the Korean Christians Federation, and participated in Sunday worship with several house church groups. We still have much to learn from and about North Korean Christians. What is certain is that God has not left this people without witnesses.

Believing, furthermore, that through Christ, God renewed the Covenant, calling all people to join in the work of the Creation, we strongly affirm the Korean people as subjects of their own history, responsible for and capable of reunifying their nation. Efforts to achieve participatory democracy and self-determination for the whole Korean people are an essential aspect of this responsibility for history. There is a deep will among Christians on both sides, despite the profound differences between their societies and between them as a result of decades of separation, to contribute jointly to finding ways to achieve national reconciliation, justice, independence and peaceful reunification.

History shows that for unification to be achieved peacefully and with justice for all Koreans, and for it to be lasting, a climate must be created in the region and in the world which will allow Koreans to approach their responsibility without external pressures or constraints. Christians in the various countries involved directly with Korea — Japan, China, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. chief among them — must each play a supportive and nurturing role if Koreans are to succeed in achieving their common aspirations.

#### Christian Responsibility in the United States

The situation of Korea is a sharp reminder to Christians in the United States of our own divisions and of the consequences of our failures, as citizens of a powerful nation, to be more devoted to those things which make for peace. We are deeply conscious of the roles our nation's government, and military and economic interests have played in creating, maintaining and deepening the division of Korea. We need to help Americans become especially aware of this and of the consequences of our nation's political, economic and military domination of South Korea.

The churches too have much to confess. Korea has suffered from the uncritical acceptance by many in our churches and nation of the virulent anti-communism which gripped our society hard in the 1950s and has kept it in its grasp to varying degrees ever since. Many Christians not only acquiesced to the division of Korea after World War II, but provided theological and ideological justification for it. Churches of this nation have too often allowed fear of societies different from our own to overshadow our vocation to be reconcilers. We have been too quick to judge the faith of Christians in North Korea from whom we have long been separated by political division, and whose witness to the faith we did not know. Nor have we sought sufficiently to comprehend the witness to the Gospel of the South Korean churches in their society, or to respond adequately to their call to us to be more responsible as U.S. Christians in relation to Korea.

#### ADVOCACY AND ACTION

In a spirit of repentance, and with the desire to promote the cause of peace and reunification of Korea, the Governing Board of the NCCCUSA sets

forth the following guidelines for the advocacy and action of the Council and its member communions to avoid the repetition of the sins of the past and to heal the brokenness to which we have contributed:

#### Healing and Reconciliation

A. Recognizing that to contribute to the reunification of Korea we must work to eliminate from our own nation the fear and enmity toward others which are fed by the misuses and misunderstandings of national security and which blur our vision of the humanity of others, all of which make it difficult for us to learn from the mistakes of the past and to play a positive international role;

*the NCCCUSA shall renew its own efforts and promote efforts in the member communions to eradicate these dehumanizing elements in our own national life.*

B. Recognizing the need to develop a fuller understanding of the tragic consequences of the division of Korea;

*the NCCCUSA shall continue to study the causes of conflict and division in Korea and develop concrete programs to assist in the healing of those wounds.*

C. Recognizing the urgent need to assist divided families to be reunited with their loved ones while this generation is still alive;

*the NCCCUSA will advocate and facilitate efforts to establish contact among and to reunite separated family members.*

D. Giving thanks to God for the continued deepening of our bond of unity with churches and Christians in South Korea, and for guiding us over the barriers which so long have separated us from Christians in North Korea; and deeply regretting that Christians in South and North Korea have not yet been able to establish open and regular contact and to realize their unity;

1. *the NCCCUSA shall support and participate in the efforts of the World Council of Churches (WCC) in cooperation with the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA) to enable the Christians of North and South Korea to reestablish relations and to nurture one another in order better to serve all the people of Korea;*

2. *the NCCCUSA commends to the member communions the recommendations of the WCC 1984 Consultation on "Peace and Justice in North East Asia," and with regard to future U.S. contacts with North Korea, draws particular attention to the following: "Christians in North America and Europe have had only sporadic contacts with North Korea and have had extremely limited exposure to the Christian community there. Strengthening such ties of communication is an important first step... (But) renewing contact after such a long time requires careful preparation, coordination and consultation, taking into account the sensitivities of the churches in both parts of Korea... (It) is preferable that responsible church bodies be involved in these contacts... The churches (are) encouraged to share with the WCC and the CCA plans for contacts with and results of visits to North Korea."*

3. *The NCCCUSA further urges member communions to coordinate their activities in this field through its appropriate program units.*

## Peace with Justice

A. *The NCCCUSA calls upon member communities to enhance their current peace education programs through a focus on Korea, including the concerns expressed in this statement.*

B. Recognizing that the barriers of decades of division and hostility can only be overcome through the full, open participation of the Korean people, North and South, in the process of reunification, not merely through negotiation at high levels of government,

*the NCCCUSA shall continue and strengthen its efforts to promote peace, justice and participatory democracy for all Koreans as a fundamental aspect of reunification.*

C. Considering that efforts are urgently needed to reduce tension in the North East Asia region to prevent a renewed outbreak of war and to create a climate favorable for reunification so that the Korean people may proceed to resolve their national question without undue external pressure or interference,

*the NCCCUSA shall:*

1. *Continue to press for progress in direct negotiations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in order to reduce tensions between the two superpowers whose bilateral relations directly affect the political climate of the world and of this region; and recognizing that other major powers in this area can play a constructive role in helping to create a positive climate conducive for such talks, urge the U.S. government to be sensitive to their special interests and relationships in the peninsula.*

2. *Urge the United States Government to refrain from applying pressures on Japan to assume a regional military role, especially in the light of its history of military conquest and colonial rule on the peninsula, and out of respect for the efforts of the Japanese people to safeguard Article 9 of their Constitution, which renounces war as a means of settling international disputes; and to encourage the government of Japan to open more adequate channels of communication with the D.P.R.K.*

3. *Press for the negotiated withdrawal of all U.S. nuclear weapons in, and all U.S. and U.S.S.R. nuclear weapons targeted on Korea; and press for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North East Asia.*

4. *Call for a suspension or substantial reduction in scale of military exercises in both sides of Korea and their eventual cessation as a way of eliminating gestures which may be interpreted as provocative.*

5. *Call for a mutually balanced reduction of the military forces of both the D.P.R.K. and the R.O.K., and a commitment by all parties not to introduce new levels of weaponry into the peninsula in order to enhance peace and security and to allow for a phased withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea.*

## New Directions for U.S. Policy

A. *The NCCCUSA calls upon the United States Government to affirm formally that it is a policy goal of the United States to support the peaceful reunification of Korea.*

B. Believing the time has come for the United States Government to develop relationships with North Korea while at the same time reassuring South Korea that the U.S. will continue and enhance those relations with it which promote and respect

the full sovereignty of the Korean people; and believing that such steps are possible now, and could be taken in such a way as to reduce tension and fear, to create new stability in the region and to serve the cause of the reunification of Korea: *the NCCCUSA urges the United States Government.*

1. *to refrain from hostile and inflammatory rhetoric about the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, with the hope that this would reduce the use of hostile and inflammatory rhetoric by both parties in Korea.*

2. *To end restrictions on direct people-to-people contacts between the D.P.R.K. and the U.S.A., and to enable increased contacts between church, cultural and academic sectors of the two societies.*

3. *To help facilitate contact and reunion of Koreans resident in the U.S.A. with separated family members in the D.P.R.K.*

4. *To create a U.S. interests section in a friendly neutral nation's embassy in Pyongyang and to invite an equivalent D.P.R.K. representation in Washington, with the hope that this would lead to similar steps between the R.O.K. and the D.P.R.K.*

5. *To help facilitate similar channels of communication between the R.O.K. and the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. in recognition of the important roles these nations play in the region and their present-day potential for contributing to reunification.*

C. Believing that the reunification of Korea can only occur as a result of direct talks between North and South Korea;

*the NCCCUSA urges the United States to extricate itself from its commanding role in R.O.K. military affairs and its dominance over the political and economic life of the nation in order to achieve a climate in which productive talks could take place on the basis of mutual respect for the independence of the other.*

D. Believing that the membership of both the R.O.K. and the D.P.R.K. in many of the specialized agencies of the United Nations is an important beginning toward full Korean participation; and that the U.N. could play a constructive role in facilitating dialogue between North and South Korea on issues regarding reunification, and in helping to develop confidence-building measures which could be taken as intermediate steps on the way to reunifying the country; but that this constructive role cannot be played by the United Nations so long as it is considered by more than one of the parties directly or indirectly involved as a partisan force;

*the NCCCUSA urges the United States to withdraw from commanding the U.N. peace-keeping operation at the Demilitarized Zone in Korea in favor of mutually acceptable neutral nations, in order to free that world body more adequately to fulfill its current mandate and explore appropriate alternative roles.*

E. Believing that now, more than three decades after the end of open hostilities in Korea and the signing of the Armistice Agreement in 1953, the time to end the war and to make peace is overdue;

*the NCCCUSA urges the United States Government to initiate negotiations to end the war and bring about a comprehensive peace settlement in Korea as a step toward the reunification of the peninsula.*

**CANADA**  **ASIA**  
**working group**

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A Canadian Inter-Church Coalition on Asian Concerns

The Canada Asia Working Group (CAWG), an inter-church coalition whose supporters include the Anglican, Presbyterian and United Churches of Canada, the Canadian Catholic Organization on Development and Peace, and the Scarborough Foreign Mission Society, is mandated to work on human rights and justice issues that link Canada and Asia.

Over the last six years the Canada Asia Working Group has given considerable attention to concerns coming from the Korean peninsula. The appended Working Statement on North Korea has been in process for more than a year. It arose from the perception that the time was right for Canadian churches to work more deliberately to understand the tensions in the Korean peninsula and to do what we can to build a climate that facilitates a reconciliation which might lead to reunification.

The Statement was shared with Canadian church supporting bodies for comment at several stages. It is now issued as a working document of the Canada Asia Working Group in the hope it will be used by the churches as a basis for their own work on Korea questions and for educational processes among church members.

December, 1985

CANADA ASIA WORKING GROUP WORKING STATEMENT ON NORTH KOREA

Introduction

In 1984-85 the Protestant churches celebrated the 100th anniversary of the beginning of Protestant mission in Korea as the Roman Catholic church celebrated the 200th anniversary of Catholic mission. The Canadian churches several of which have been partners with Korean churches for a significant part of that period welcomed the opportunity to rejoice with our Korean sisters and brothers and gave thanks for God's faithful guidance over many perilous decades.

Until 1945 the church served in a country that had been one and undivided for thirteen centuries, although for 35 years Koreans had been under harsh Japanese occupation. The deliverance from that occupation at the end of World War II gave rise to high hopes. These hopes were frustrated, however, when Korea was divided by Russia and the United States into North and South, corresponding to Russian and American spheres of influence, with the concurrence of other United Nations members.

Following this division, Canada continued to maintain relationships with the Republic of Korea (South). Any possibility of similar relationships with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North) were effectively eliminated by the Korean War.

In 1946 the Korean Christian Federation was created in the North as an ostensible vehicle for freedom of religion. Many Christians remained opposed to the Communist government, however, and, since Christianity was viewed by the government authorities as a foreign religion, were often regarded with suspicion as potential American agents. The movement of refugees to the South was greatly accelerated during the Korean War.

Following that war the borders became permanently closed and contact between the two parts of the country virtually ceased. As far as has been known, the church as an organized body ceased to exist in the North. Small groups of Christians have continued to meet in homes. Over the past couple of years there have been tentative feelers put out by the Korean Christian Federation to churches in other parts of the world, especially those in Europe, although we know little about the nature of the Federation and its present activities. At least two church-related groups of American Christians met with Federation officials and visited North Korean Christians in late 1984. In November, 1985, two World Council of Churches staff members visited North Korea at the invitation of the central committee of the Federation.

Among the people in South Korea there has remained, in spite of enforced division of their country, a deep sense of the oneness of the Korean people and a dedication to ultimate reunification. In the official statements of some Korean churches over the years this goal has been affirmed. In our solidarity with them, therefore, we are called to understand this longing. Despite seemingly insuperable political obstacles we seek a way to help ease tensions that stand in the way of bringing reunification into reality.

As we examine this situation, we remember the positive role some churches in Canada played in keeping relationships with the Chinese people during the period of isolation. We recall, too, the contribution of the Canadian government in according diplomatic recognition to China in advance of many of the Western powers. Perhaps this says something to us in regard to future relations with North Korea.

#### The Current Situation

In recent months there have been increasing numbers of people from the Western world able to visit North Korea. We have benefited from their observations. Other groups, both church and non-church, are making plans to visit. While this kind of informal contact is increasing, Western governments appear reluctant to open contacts on a more formal basis.

At the end of October, 1984, an Ecumenical Consultation on Peace and Justice in North-East Asia under the auspices of the World Council of Churches was held in Japan. The Consultation statement pointed out that since World War II North-East Asia has been a region of continuing tension with problems of reconciliation, political freedom, human rights and democratization finding a common concern and response among the churches. The Korean peninsula is at the heart of this tension. "This tension gravely endangers this region and its peoples, making it one of the potentially greatest threats to world peace and a possible trigger of a global nuclear war."

Recent initiatives were identified as giving reason for hope and a basis for action: proposals for tripartite talks involving both Koreas on the re-establishing of relationships; the giving of flood relief aid by North Korea and its reception by the South; proposals for trade talks between the two countries, the decision to resume the Red Cross talks and the September, 1985 limited visits of separated family members.

The emergence of such initiatives and the commitment of the world churches to pursue policies that will contribute to the lessening of tensions in the region, make it appropriate that churches in Canada seek ways of being a part of this process. Recommendations of the Ecumenical Consultation are reflected in the following affirmations.

#### Seeking New Directions

We seek to discover how in the providence of God we may recognize and respond to the new realities in the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

1. We recognize that God continues to be active among people in North Korea. We seek to discern signs of God's activity that we may respond appropriately.
2. We acknowledge that the way ahead is uncertain. We do not see clearly the steps to be taken. Nevertheless, in the conviction that we are on God's way, we remain open to the leading of the Holy Spirit.
3. We acknowledge the tragedy of the division of the Korean people and the complicity of the Western world in that division. We recognize the sorrow of our partners in the South because of the continuing separation from their compatriots in the North. We support the recommendation of the 1984 Ecumenical Consultation to help promote initiatives towards re-establishing contacts between separated families.
4. We are not called to be neutral bystanders but to join in the process of reconciliation and justice leading to the reunification of the Korean peninsula. We are called to overcome the stereotypes, prejudice and climate of hostility towards North Korea which militate against reconciliation.
5. We affirm the desirability of the Canadian church to know and understand better the situation of the people of North Korea. We need to seek and disseminate accurate information about both North and South Korea to correct the distortions often used for political purposes.
6. We believe it desirable to encourage groups of Canadian church members to make visits to North Korea where possible, to open up people-to-people contacts and to share their experiences on their return to Canada. In this connection, it will be essential to co-operate with the World Council of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia as they develop relationships with the church in North Korea.
7. Since to date Canadian diplomats and government officials have not encouraged contacts with North Korea, we see value in sharing with them such reliable information as we obtain and the results of our own contacts. We urge their co-operation in facilitating people-to-people exchanges both through visits to North Korea and academic and cultural exchanges that bring North Koreans to Canada.

We make this statement not from assurance of ease in developing new directions but from a firm conviction that the time is right to move forward and that it is God's will that we do so.

November, 1985

# RESOLUTION ON RECONCILIATION AND REUNIFICATION IN KOREA



ADOPTED BY THE  
198th GENERAL ASSEMBLY (1986)  
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH (U.S.A.)

God's reconciliation in Jesus Christ is the ground of the peace, justice, and freedom among nations which all powers of government are called to serve and defend. The church, in its own life, is called to practice the forgiveness of enemies and to commend to the nations as practical politics the search for cooperation and peace. This search requires that the nations pursue fresh and responsible relations across every line of conflict, even at risk to national security, to reduce areas of strife and to broaden international understanding. Confession of 1967 (9.45)

There are no quick or easy answers to the ambiguities and paradoxes of entangled good and evil in which we find ourselves. Fear must be overcome with faith, hate with trust, enmity with reconciliation, injustice with justice. In accepting this challenge we rely not in our own strength or shrewdness but in the surprising grace of God and are buoyed by the vision: "and people will come from east to west, and from north and south, and sit at table in the kingdom of God." (Lk. 13:29.) The promise of the Kingdom of God fulfills our hopes beyond the secular expectations of history. Our hope is in the Kingdom of God and not in any particular political system or solution. That hope, however, invigorates us for the particular political struggles in which approximations of justice can be achieved. "Peacemaking: The Believers' Calling," (Minutes, 192nd General Assembly, UPCUSA, 1980, p. 212; 121st General Assembly PCUS 1981, p. 474)

## Background

27.105

A divided Korea is one of the tragic legacies of World War II. Unlike Germany, Korea was not divided because it was a threat to anyone or because it was the enemy. In fact, Korea itself had been occupied for over thirty years by Japan. Though Japanese military forces used Korea as a supply base, the main military reality in Korea during the war was continuing Korean resistance to Japanese rule. In August 1945, the Soviet Union entered the war against Japan as had been previously agreed, sending troops into Korea. The war officially ended less than one month later. The events that followed in Korea flowed partly from prior agreement among the Allied powers and partly from expedient reaction by both the United States and the Soviet Union in the immediate situation. Whatever the intention and whenever it was formulated, the land and people of Korea were divided and remain so today.

27.106

As early as 1943, Korea was included in plans and agreements among the allies for dealing with "occupied territories" following the war. This apparently came to include an agreement at some point between the United States and Soviet Union, providing for a temporary trusteeship for Korea during which the Korean people ostensibly were to be prepared to take over the administration of their own country. Given the military situation on the ground as the war ended, the United States suggested to the Soviet Union a temporary division of Korea at the 38th Parallel, which the Soviet Union accepted. The United States was convinced of the high importance of the Korean peninsula to the security of the postwar Pacific and concerned over the possibility of a unilateral occupation of all of Korea by the Soviet Union, whose strategic interests in this peninsula lying on its eastern border were obvious.

27.107

This new dual occupation and trusteeship were bitterly opposed by the Korean people, who viewed it as an insulting and humiliating assertion that they were not capable of self-government. The two powers simply ignored the long history of Korean unity and independence and the recent struggle for independence from Japan.

Popular opposition was exacerbated by the fact that United States military authorities largely ignored the leaders of the Patriotic Movement in Korea, who had already established a provisional government-in-exile, and also looked upon any expression of resistance to continued foreign occupation as evidence of a Soviet-backed attempt to control the entire peninsula.

27.108

The division quickly solidified as each emerging superpower moved to protect its own perceived strategic interests. The United States and the Soviet Union fostered the development of administrations in the southern and northern zones headed by leaders chosen for their compatibility with the respective goals of the occupying superpower. In 1948, after an abortive attempt to have a UN-sponsored election, the United States sponsored the establishment of the Republic of Korea (ROK) and unilaterally recognized it as the only lawful government in Korea. Dr. Syngman Rhee, an American-educated Korean supported by the United States, was elected by the Congress of the Republic of Korea to be the leader of the new nation. Mr. Kim Il Sung, long active in the Communist Party and sponsored by the Soviet Union, became the head of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). Korea's division was now sealed, and the "cold war" was well under way. Once again, the Korean people had been denied the opportunity for genuine self-determination.

27.109

Tension between "North Korea" and "South Korea," as the two governments quickly came to be known, was immediate and continuing. In June of 1950, North Korea invaded the south and the Korean War was on. United States forces and contingents from sixteen other countries fought with ROK forces as North Korean troops pushed down nearly the whole length of the peninsula. Driven back nearly all the way to the northern border, North Korean troops were joined by a large number of volunteers from the new People's Republic of China. No Soviet troops participated in the fighting, though the Soviet Union provided massive amounts of material to the DPRK.

27.110

In twelve months of intense fighting, then, virtually the entire peninsula was covered in a savage seesaw struggle that left a devastation seldom seen in war. Although a cease-fire was agreed to in 1951, during the twenty-four months of negotiation that followed, continued fighting resulted in more than one million additional casualties. The total number of human casualties, dead and wounded, in these three years of war are estimated at 6,350,267. Of these, 3,670,995 were Korean civilians; 1,599,609 were Korean military personnel; 921,836 were soldiers from the People's Republic of China; and 157,827 were United Nations military personnel.

27.111

Although an armistice accord was reached in July of 1953, an air of hostility has remained between the two Koreas, and the situation has been marked by constant tension and violent incidents along the demilitarized zone at the 38th Parallel. Both societies have been burdened by heavy military expenditures; the two Koreas support



the fifth and sixth largest armies in the world, over a million troops ready for combat. Sustaining its original commitment to the Republic of Korea, the United States has continued to station its troops in that country and has equipped them with nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union has nuclear missiles nearby in its contiguous territory, targeted on the Republic of Korea. The result is an international flashpoint capable of igniting a global nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union.

27.112

Thus, the significance and impact of the division goes far beyond its tragic consequences on the Korean peninsula itself. It affects the economic, political, and military policy and relationships of the four major Pacific Powers—Japan, the People's Republic of China, the Soviet Union, and the United States. It complicates and penalizes Korean involvement in the new and dynamic pattern of economic power that is developing rapidly in the Pacific Basin region and represents a point of continuing instability and threat to those developments. The erosion of this particular dividing wall of hostility—movement toward Korean reconciliation and eventual reunification—would thus have powerful and positive benefit for the Korean people, for stable economic and political development of the region, and for world peace. It is imperative that the Christian community in the United States support in all appropriate ways the Korean Christians and other Koreans working toward the reunion that befits their cultural heritage. It is also imperative that the Christian community in the United States seek diligently to remove the external obstacles to the reconciliation of the peoples of the two Koreas, since so many of those obstacles arise from the perceived strategic interests of the United States in its global confrontation with the Soviet Union.

27.113

Progress toward reducing tensions is made very difficult because of at least two sets of dynamics which are at work, each complicating the other. The first set involves the two immediate parties, the two Koreas. Each in its own way has perpetuated the conflict and the division, hampering the development of even relatively normal relations and making pursuit of reconciliation and reunification seem almost impossible. Since 1948, profound differences have developed in their respective political and economic structures, although overall results have been similar in many ways.

27.114

Although the societies have developed following different models, both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea have produced highly authoritarian political patterns. The Republic of Korea is now in its third fundamentally authoritarian government: Syngman Rhee, 1948-1960; Park Chun Hee, 1961-1980; Chun Doo Hwan, 1980-present. The last two have come from the military and all three have been staunchly supported by the United States. While clearly aligned with the Western capitalist bloc, the government of the Republic of Korea has demonstrated its independence from the United States in various ways. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has had almost four decades of dictatorial rule by Kim Il Sung, now in his 70's, who is grooming his son, Kim Jong Il, for political succession. Although the Democratic People's Republic of Korea is clearly part of the communist world, and dependent in significant ways on the political patronage of the Soviet Union, it has sought with considerable success to build a self-reliant system with significant independence from both the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China.

27.115

In economic terms, both north and south have developed significant industrial strength following the severe devastation of the war, but again following different models. The Republic of Korea, following a private entrepreneurial model, though with considerable government involvement, has had rapid economic growth, though much of it has been oriented to export industries. It has used external capital extensively, both governmental and private largely from the United States. Benefits from this development have been unevenly distributed, the labor movement has been suppressed, and the economy is heavily dependent on world financial and economic cycles.

27.116

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea followed a centrally planned command model, stressing heavy in-

dustrial development, economic and agricultural self-sufficiency, and limited reliance on outside investment or assistance. While this has engendered a high degree of economic autonomy and considerable growth, it has been achieved at the cost of a highly regimented and controlled society and an isolation which has limited access to new technology as well as to energy sources. While both economies carry a heavy burden of military costs, the relative burden may well be higher in the north because it receives little assistance from the Soviet Union or the People's Republic of China.

27.117

These divergent economic and political developments over the past forty years understandably are reflected in the educational, social, and cultural spheres of each society. Although the two Koreas still possess a common language and share a common historical past, they bring fundamentally different present realities to the search for a reconciled and reunited future.

27.118

The second set of complicating dynamics that makes progress toward reconciliation and reunification difficult flows from the fact that Korea is still a stage for the global conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union. In a sense and to some degree, Korean reconciliation and reunification are held hostage to the strategic interests of the two superpowers. From at least 1946 on, the United States has seen the Soviet Union as a serious and consistent threat to its world interests and a constant threat to international peace and stability. Even the triumph of the communist forces in China in 1949 and the involvement of Chinese troops in the Korean War were seen as evidence of the expanding power of the Soviets in Northeast Asia. The People's Republic of China, of course, developed its own separate identity that manifested visible areas of antagonism toward the Soviet Union and equally visible desire to normalize relations with the United States. The United States ultimately responded favorably and in fact exercised significant initiative to reestablish diplomatic and economic relations with the Peoples Republic of China, but has made no similar effort toward ending the stalemate on the Korean peninsula or toward the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea. The reasons for that may well lie in continuing conviction of a need to resist Soviet expansion into the Pacific. United States military presence in Korea, after all, provides the United States with a barrier to any such expansion, on the mainland and not too distant from Soviet territory and installations. The Soviet Union obviously perceives the military presence of the United States in the Northeast Pacific, with bases in Japan and Korea, as a clear threat to its own national security and international interests.

27.119

The situation is further complicated by the fact that what began as a United Nations action to protect South Korea from an invasion by North Korea in 1950, has evolved into a protracted conflict in which the United States, still flying a United Nations flag, has concluded an alliance with one of the two parties to the division. This fact, in itself, effectively precludes the United Nations from other activity within its mandate which might contribute to the process of reconciliation and reunification. It is a matter of concern to all who support the work of the United Nations that any perpetuation of the conflict in Korea tends to serve the strategic interests of the superpowers rather than those of the Korean people or the United Nations, whose mandate calls it to be not only a peacemaker but also a peacekeeper.

The Church's Concern

27.120

The reason for the church's concerns regarding Korea are manifold. Two are basic. First, there is the desire for a permanent and lasting peace with justice in the region. As long as Korea remains in a state of unresolved conflict, with tensions exacerbated in the South by fear of invasion and in the North by fear of the United States nuclear presence, there remains the potential for a conflict that could trigger nuclear confrontation between the superpowers. All who share the concern for peace and justice must be working toward reconciliation by every possible means, including opposition to the continued militarization of the region, which exacerbates the tensions and increases the danger. Second, there is a genuine desire for the well-being of the Korean people, North and South, who have suffered far too long from a conflict for which they are not altogether responsible.

27.121

Some ten million people in Korea have been separated from each other because of the division of their country. It is imperative to seek ways to enable the reunion of families through the opening of borders and, by other means, to facilitate the kind of improved relations between the two parties that will contribute to the process of reconciliation and reunion. One of the facts that makes the efforts to reunite families more urgent, from a humanitarian perspective, is the poignant reality that many of those who were separated by the tragic war are rapidly growing so aged that if some opportunity of reunion does not occur soon, they will die before they are ever reunited with their loved ones.

27.122

The church is also concerned for the establishment of an environment in which the democratization and development of both societies could occur. The Korean people—South and North, together or separately—should have the opportunity to apply their skills, energies, and resources to building a better and freer life for all, rather than having them consumed by the demands of the militarized confrontation that now exists. As noted, the Pacific Basin—from Australia through the Philippines and Hong Kong to Korea and from the People's Republic of China through Taiwan and Japan to the United States—is emerging as a vibrant, growing arena of tremendous economic power. The full potential of Korean participation in that development is undermined by continued conflict and division, and the regional development is itself jeopardized by the inherent instability they represent.

27.123

In the face of such obstacles as have been noted, the church seeks signs of hope. It is important to note and to give thanks for the efforts that have been made, North and South, in the past six years, even when those efforts have been tentative or have been rebuffed. Both parties have made a number of initiatives, or explorations, toward softening the lines cast by the division. Many times those have been brought to naught by political events or by the fanning of suspicions of one party toward the other; nevertheless, those initiatives have continued. Even in the face of such inflammatory incidents as the shooting down of Korean Air Lines Flight 007 by Soviet fighter planes and the bomb assassination of ROK officials in Rangoon, there have been recent signs of hope. Devastating floods in South Korea in 1984 brought an offer of help from North Korea for the flood victims, an offer which was as unusual as the decision of South Korea to receive that aid from the North. Furthermore, early in 1985, talks were initiated regarding economic relations between North and South. Even more encouraging is the fact that as a result of arrangements made through the Red Cross, a limited cultural exchange and visitations among members of separated families involving fifty persons from each side took place in the fall of 1985. This is the first time in forty years that such an exchange has taken place.

27.124

One of the most encouraging initiatives is that taken by Christians in South Korea to make reconciliation a major commitment, especially the Presbyterian churches in Korea which have requested the cooperative support of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) in that effort. Along with that, new evidence is emerging from North Korea of the existence of small numbers of Christians, meeting in homes—remnants which have survived over a long period of harsh suppression of religion. The emergence of that evidence itself is a reason to hope that there may be growing tolerance of religion in the North. In support of that, it should be noted that in 1983 there was, for the first time since 1950, the printing of a hymn book and a new translation of the New Testament. That was followed by the printing of a new translation of the Old Testament in the fall of 1984.

27.125

In view of these signs of hope, however small some of them may seem to be, it is surely a propitious moment for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and its members to respond with full support for our sisters and brothers in Korea in their efforts toward the reconciliation and reunification of the Korean people. It is surely also a propitious moment for the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and its members to seek ways of changing the policies and practices of the United States in ways that will reduce barriers and facilitate progress toward reconciliation and reunification in Korea.

## Resolution

27.126

Whereas, the Confession of 1967 declares: "God's reconciliation in Jesus Christ is the ground of the peace, justice and freedom among nations which all powers of government are called to serve and defend. The church, in its own life, is called to practice the forgiveness of enemies and to commend to the nations as practical politics the search for cooperation and peace"; and

27.127

Whereas, *Peacemaking: The Believers' Calling*, adopted by the General Assembly, speaks of bearing witness to Christ by nourishing the moral life of the nation for the sake of peace in the world and declares that by God's grace, we are agreed to work with all people who strive for peace and justice, thus serving as signposts of God's love in our broken world; and

27.128

Whereas, the division of the people of Korea into two antagonistic societies, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, continues to be a source of tension for the world and a tragedy for the Korean people; and

27.129

Whereas, the United States, as an original party to the division of Korea, as the principal military ally of the Republic of Korea and as one of its major trading partners, bears a particular responsibility and obligation to help reduce tensions and facilitate reconciliation; and

Whereas, the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) has a particular concern for peace, reconciliation, and justice for the Korean people, having celebrated in 1984, one hundred years of especially fruitful mission relations that spanned the opening of Korea to Western influences, long years of Japanese occupation, and the decades of division which have followed; and

Whereas, the 195th General Assembly (1983) affirmed its commitment to work, in the future, with the people of North Korea to develop potential mission opportunities and relations there in consultation with Korean church partners, to support the reunification of families, and to promote peace with justice and reconciliation for the people of the Korean peninsula; and

Whereas, the Christian Conference of Asia and the World Council of Churches have taken a particularly hopeful initiative in support of the reconciliation and reunification of the Korean people, convening a consultation at the Tozanso International Center near Tokyo, Japan, between October 29 and November 2, 1984, which brought together sixty-five church leaders from twenty nations around the world and called for the ecumenical Christian church to reaffirm the oneness of all people in Jesus Christ by working to make that unity visible in the life of the human community generally and Korea specifically; therefore be it

*Resolved*, that the 198th General Assembly (1986) of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.);

27.130

Offer its prayers of intercession for reduction of tension in the Korean peninsula and in all of Northeast Asia, for the removal of the military burden which is upon the people of North and South Korea, for the reconciliation of the two Koreas and their eventual reunification under peaceful, just conditions; and

27.131

Offer its prayers of repentance for the complicity of our own nation and even the church of which we are a part, in helping to create and perpetuate the tragic division and conflict that have beset the people of Korea.

27.132

Recognize the reality that this tragic division now requires creative steps for healing.

27.133

Commend ecumenical efforts to support and assist reconciliation in Korea by such bodies as the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Christian Conference of Asia, the National Council of Churches in Korea, and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. and affirm continued cooperation, support, and participation in such efforts by appropriate agencies and officials of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.).

27.134

Call upon the appropriate boards and agencies of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.):

1. To encourage study and understanding of the history and circumstances leading to the division and conflict in Korea, of current developments in Korea and its regional context, and of the urgent need for reconciliation on both personal and societal levels.

2. To participate with and support the initiatives of Christians in Korea, especially those of the Presbyterian churches, that are directed toward reconciliation and reunification.

3. To make financial contributions, as appropriate, to agencies that are involved in family reunification endeavors.

4. To initiate a study of the means whereby the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.) and its members might provide material and financial assistance for the rebuilding of churches in North Korea destroyed by the war, should the opportunity arise, and to invite the Presbyterian Church bodies in the Republic of Korea to join in the study.

27.135

The financial requirements for implementing the actions in this section would vary according to the particular means chosen, the level of priority assigned, and in some instances (aid to agencies) according to the opportunities available. All are functionally within ongoing directions and programs of mission agencies and could be accommodated in regular planning and budgeting processes.

27.136

Register our conviction as Christians in the United States that the following developments would contribute significantly to reconciliation and peace in the Korean peninsula:

1. Establishment of direct communications links between North and South Korea, including regular telecommunications and postal arrangements.

2. Establishment of family reunification centers under Red Cross or neutral United Nations agency control, with open access to both North and South for the location, verification, and facilitation of family contact and relations.

3. Establishment of exchange programs and activities in the cultural, athletic, artistic, and academic fields.

4. Establishment of trade relations.

5. Achievement of a formal treaty ending the Korean War, including a friendship and nonaggression pact between the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

6. Simultaneous full admission of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to the United Nations, not as an acquiescence to the division but as an important step toward the healing unification of the nation.

7. Diplomatic recognition of both existing Korean governments by those governments that now recognize only one of the two.

8. Mutual reduction of military forces and tensions along the demilitarized zone, with the possibility of a drawback accompanied by the placement of a neutral peacekeeping force.

9. A phased reduction of United States military forces as confidence is restored and other guarantees for peace in the region are assured.

27.137

Call upon the United States Government to seek to facilitate and provide support in all appropriate ways for the achievement of the conditions above, and specifically:

1. To share U.S. financial resources with the United Nations, the International Red Cross, and other agencies acceptable to both North and South Korea, which are working to assist in the reunification of Korean families, if requested.

2. To support and facilitate negotiations between North and South Korea for an enforceable and mutually verifiable reduction of military forces on the peninsula, including the question of United States military presence there, and for the increased cooperation and eventual reunification of the Korean people, without prejudice as to whether those negotiations take place at the level of two powers, three powers, four powers, or multipowers.

3. To initiate discussions with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on ways to reduce tension and improve and normalize diplomatic and trade relations.

4. To seek to negotiate with the Soviet Union a moratorium on the introduction of new missiles in the region, including the Tomahawk, SS 20 and SS 25.

5. To consider a temporary suspension of large-scale military maneuvers in the Korean peninsula and the Northeast Asia region in an attempt to reduce tension and provide impetus to progress through the efforts called for in these recommendations, and to invite both North and South Korea to join in a similar suspension of military maneuvers that are interpreted as threatening to others.

27.138

Call upon the United Nations to undertake a major review of the Korean situation, exploring ways by which the United Nations can facilitate and assist the reconciliation process, including the possible transfer of the international peacekeeping role from the United States to a neutral peacekeeping team.

27.138a

Commend the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. for its initiative in exploring the issues of Korean reconciliation and reunification and the preparation of a proposed policy statement on these issues; and urges appropriate agencies of the General Assembly to support the proposed visit of an ecumenical delegation to North and South Korea.

27.139

Request the Moderator, in consultation with appropriate agencies and councils of the General Assembly, to appoint a special committee of Presbyterians to visit the Democratic People's Republic of Korea following the visit of the ecumenical delegation. Assistance in planning and conducting the visitation shall be provided by members and staff of appropriate General Assembly agencies, in consultation with Presbyterian partner bodies in Korea. A full report of the findings, together with appropriate recommendations shall be made to the 199th General Assembly (1987) or the earliest succeeding General Assembly possible.

27.140

The financial requirements for such a special committee of the General Assembly of ten persons would be approximately \$40,000, assuming that the committee has one organizational meeting and also completes the visit to North and South Korea by December 31, 1986. The total is based on a trip of approximately three weeks total duration, travel through Beijing to reach North Korea, and use of church-owned hostel facilities in South Korea. It also assumes travel following the end of the "high season" in September. The total does not reflect group discounts for travel and accommodations that might be available.

27.141

The budget of the Office of the General Assembly contains an item to support special committees authorized by General Assembly. The financial requirements for this particular committee would exceed the average estimated for a single committee because of the unique factor of travel to the two Koreas. Whether the costs would exceed the total amount budgeted for new special committees would depend upon how many others are authorized by the 198th General Assembly (1986).

27.142

Direct the Stated Clerk to communicate this resolution to the governments of the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the President of the United States, the Secretary of State of the United States, the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, the General Secretary of the World Council of Churches, the World Alliance of Reformed Churches, the Christian Conference of Asia, National Council of Churches of Korea, and appropriate church leaders in Korea.



# UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST

105 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10016, Tel. (212) 683-5656

## GENERAL SYNOD 16 RESOLUTION

JUNE 25 - JULY 2, 1987

### Peace and the Reunification of Korea

#### Background

The desire of the Korean people, whether they live in South Korea (Republic of Korea/R.O.K.) or North Korea (Democratic People's Republic of Korea/D.P.R.K.), is to restore the unity that was theirs for more than a thousand years before the end of World War II. In 1945 the nation was divided, its people separated into two increasingly hostile and heavily armed states, their enmity sparked and sustained by the global confrontation of the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The churches and the government of the United States must bear the plea of the Korean people for reunification, and help to revise attitudes and policies which may free them to pursue their national unity without external impediment.

We believe that by the grace of God this division need not be permanent, that this people can have its unity restored. This will require the sustained love, concern and dedicated work of people in many parts of the world in support of the efforts of the Korean people themselves in both North and South.

Since early 1984, there have been some encouraging new openings. There have been renewed official contacts between North and South Korea, the provision and acceptance of emergency assistance by the North to flood victims in the South, followed by official conversations regarding economic and humanitarian issues, culminating in the first exchange of visits between separated family members in North and South since the Korean War.

We see signs of hope for Korea which we, as Christians, believe are the work of the Holy Spirit. This is a moment, we believe, of *kairos*, a welcome, propitious, critical time to support our sisters and brothers in the whole of Korea as they seek to take their destiny in hand. This is a time for decisive commitment by the churches to help build a climate in North East Asia which would be conducive to pursuing those new opportunities.

New initiatives have also been taken among the churches. South Korean churches identified reunification as a priority concern in early 1984, asserting their right and responsibility, as well as that of the people at large, to participate in the national discussion on reunification. A Unification Study Committee has been created by the National Council of Churches in Korea to this end. The

Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the World Council of Churches convened a consultation in the Fall of 1984 at Tozanso, Japan, on "Peace and Justice in North East Asia: Prospects for Peaceful Resolution of Conflict," which focused on Korean reunification with full knowledge of the two Korean governments. While recognizing that reunification is to be achieved by Koreans themselves, a major international ecumenical endeavour is seeking to mobilize support and establish favorable conditions for the Korean effort.

The Korean people, subjects of their own history, are responsible for and capable of reunifying their nation. There is a deep will among Christians in both North and South Korea to contribute jointly to finding ways to achieve national reconciliation, justice, independence, and peace in reunification. History shows that for unification to be achieved peacefully and with justice for all Koreans, and for it to be lasting, a climate must be created in the region and in the world which will allow Koreans to approach their responsibility without external pressures or constraints.

Christians in the various countries involved directly with Korea--Japan, China, the U.S.S.R., and the U.S.A. chief among them--must each play a supportive and nurturing role if Koreans are to succeed in achieving their common aspirations.

#### United States Responsibility

The situation of Korea is a sharp reminder to Christians in the U.S.A. of our own brokenness and division. We are deeply conscious of the role our nation has played in creating the division of Korea, and in maintaining and deepening it. Our government, military, and economic interests each bear a share of the responsibility. But the churches too have much to confess.

We confess that as churches of this nation, we have often allowed ourselves to be motivated more by fear of societies different from our own than by our vocation to be reconcilers. We confess our unwillingness or incapacity to understand; the role of the Christian faith in a society like North Korea, or to comprehend sufficiently the witness to the Gospel of the South Korean churches in their society.

## PEACE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Sixteenth General Synod of the United Church of Christ, in a spirit of repentance, turning around, seeking to avoid the repetition of the sins of the past, and to heal the brokenness to which we have contributed, in support of the Presbyterial Church in the Republic of Korea, our partner church, joins with the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America to offer the following recommendations:

I. We pledge to work for healing and reconciliation in Korea by

A. Recognizing that to contribute to the reunification of Korea, we must work to eliminate from our own nation the fear which is fed by the misuses and misunderstandings of national security, and the enmity which blurs our vision of the humanity of the other; all of which make it difficult for us to learn from the mistakes of the past and to play a positive international role.

B. Studying and seeking to understand the tragedy of a divided Korea and how U.S. Christians might better support efforts to heal those wounds.

C. Supporting efforts to assist divided families to be reunited with their loved ones while this generation is still alive; sporadic contacts with North Koreans who have had extremely limited exposure to the Christian community there.

II. We call for renewed efforts to work for peace and justice in Korea by

A. Recognizing that the barriers of decades of division and hostility can only be overcome through the full, open participation of the Korean people, North

and South, in the process of reunification, not merely through negotiation at high levels of government.

B. Continuing to press for progress in direct negotiations between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. in order to reduce tensions between the two superpowers whose bilateral relations directly affect the political climate of the world and of this region. The agreement signed at the Geneva Summit meeting in November 1985 regarding air safety in North East Asia is a recognition of a degree of mutual responsibility and could provide some basis for further agreements regarding peace and security in the area.

C. Urging the United States Government to respect the Peace Constitution of Japan and to refrain from applying pressures on Japan to assume a regional military role.

D. Pressing for the negotiated withdrawal of all U.S. and U.S.S.R. nuclear weapons in or targeted on Korea; and press for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in North East Asia.

E. Calling for the suspension or substantial reduction in scale of military exercises in both sides of Korea and their eventual cessation as a way of eliminating gestures which may be interpreted as provocative.

F. Calling for a mutually balanced reduction of the military forces of both the D.P.R.K. and the R.O.K., and a commitment by all parties not to introduce new levels of weaponry into the peninsula in order to enhance peace and security and to allow for a phase withdrawal of U.S. forces from South Korea.

III. We call upon the United States Government to affirm formally that it is a policy goal of the United States to support the peaceful reunification of Korea.

IV. We urge the United States Government to:

A. Refrain from hostile and inflammatory rhetoric about the D.P.R.K., with the hope that this would reduce the use of hostile and inflammatory rhetoric by both parties in Korea.

B. End restrictions on direct people-to-people contacts between the D.P.R.K. and the U.S.A., to enable increased contacts between church, cultural, and academic sectors of the two societies.

C. Help facilitate contact and reunion of Koreans resident in the U.S.A. with separated family members in the D.P.R.K.

D. Create a U.S. interests section in a friendly neutral nation's embassy in Pyongyang and invite an equivalent to D.P.R.K. representation in Washington, with the hope that this would lead to similar steps between the R.O.K. and the D.P.R.K.

E. Extricate itself from its commanding role in R.O.K. military affairs and its dominance over the political and economic life of the nation in order to achieve a climate in which productive talks could take place on the basis of mutual respect for the independence of the other.

F. Withdraw from commanding the U.N. peace-keeping operation at the Demilitarized Zone in Korea in favor of mutually acceptable neutral nations, in order to free that world body more adequately to fulfill its current mandate and explore appropriate alternative roles.

V. End the war and negotiate a comprehensive peace settlement in Korea as a step toward the reunification of the peninsula.



General Board of  
**Global Ministries**  
**The United Methodist Church**  
475 Riverside Drive, New York, NY 10115



RESOLUTION APPROVED BY THE GENERAL BOARD OF GLOBAL MINISTRIES,  
OCTOBER 21, 1987, AND TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE GENERAL CONFERENCE  
OF THE UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, APRIL 1988

## PEACE, JUSTICE, AND REUNIFICATION OF KOREA

Christians in Korea, rooted in a Biblical passion for justice, have spoken prophetically and at great risk about the urgency of the reunification of their nation. Celebrating 100 years of Korean Methodism in 1985, the Korean Methodist Church in its Centennial Statement said:

"Faced as we are with the forty years' tragic division of the Korean peninsula, we express our longing for unification of the nation in any form possible through peaceful means in the earliest possible time. This must be done through establishing a democratic political structure based upon freedom and human rights, and must be fulfilled by working toward the establishment of a just society built for the sake of the people. Therefore, we reject any form whatever of dictatorship. Deploring the long history of our nation in which the reality has been the sacrifice of our country's political life, and now with a definite sense of national self-determination which rejects any domination by the superpowers, we disavow any form of war or the taking of life, and commit the whole strength of the Korean Methodist Church to the peaceful reunification of our country."

Now is a time for repentance, a time for reconciliation, a time for justice, a time for peace. For the nation of Korea, divided for more than forty years, justice, peace and reconciliation are tragically overdue. In 1945 just before the end of World War II, the United States proposed and the Soviet Union agreed to the division of Korea. The division was to have been temporary to facilitate the surrender of Japanese troops in Korea. More than four decades later the country is still divided into the Republic of Korea (ROK) and the Democratic Peoples Republic of Korea (DPRK). The enmity between the superpowers has been played out in the Korean tragedy of war and death, dictatorship and militarization, separation of one people into two hostile camps and divided families with no contact at all. All members of the Body of Christ, but especially Christians in the United States, have a special responsibility to support the Korean people in their attempts to build democracy, reduce tension, create trust on the Korean peninsula, heal the divisions and reunite their country. God's reconciling activity in Jesus Christ calls us as Christians to the ministry of reconciliation.

Now is a time of urgency. The hunger for democracy and respect for human rights grows strong and promises political change. The threat to peace remains critical with the world's fifth and sixth largest armies facing each other across the Demilitarized Zone. Nuclear weapons back up 40,000 US troops in the south, and the USSR and the US have nuclear weapons in the region targeted on Korea. The 1953 Armistice has not yet led to a peace treaty. These political and military divisions inevitably have led to

a separation in The Body of Christ, so that Korean Christians, who once worshipped and served Our Lord together, now live in isolation from one another. Ten million Korean people separated from their families, divided since the 1950's with no contact, are growing older and dying. The divisions deepen with distorted rhetoric. People's struggles for political participation are repressed. The churches, too, are attacked for their active concern or are driven to a passive personal faith.

New initiatives reflect active hope for change. The movement for democratic reform in the Republic of Korea has demonstrated broad national support, forcing the government to promise direct and fair elections under a changed constitution. In many ways the Korean people, north and south, have expressed their strong desire for reunification. Since 1984 there have been official contacts and conversations on economic and humanitarian issues between ROK and DPRK. Emergency assistance, following devastating floods in the south, was offered by the DPRK and accepted by the ROK. The first government-sponsored exchange of visits between divided family members occurred in 1985. Christians from north and south met in 1986 in Clion, Switzerland, as part of an ecumenical process on peace and the reunification of Korea led by the World Council of Churches. In 1987 both sides offered proposals to lower military tensions on the peninsula.

In 1986, as a result of consultations in Korea, north and south, with Christians and government representatives, the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. (NCCCUSA) adopted an important policy statement on "Peace and the Reunification of Korea." United Methodist representatives participated fully in the development of this statement, in consultations on peace and reunification, and in an official ecumenical delegation to North and South Korea in the summer of 1987.

In support of the Korean people and in cooperation with partner Christian groups, it is recommended that the United Methodist Church, its members, local churches, annual conferences, and agencies, undertake the following actions through intercession, education, public advocacy, and support of programs furthering justice, peace, and reconciliation:

1. Engage in prayer of penitence and petition with the Korean people and with Christians in the north and south, scarred and pained by the division of their nation and yearning for reunion, and support the efforts of the Korean Methodist Church and the National Council of Churches of Korea to seek peace and reconciliation.
2. Commend the Policy Statement on "Peace and the Reunification of Korea" of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the USA (NCCCUSA), November, 1986, to annual conferences and local churches for study and action. The Policy Statement affirms the desire of the Korean people for restoration of national unity and reunion of separated families, traces the history of division and hopeful steps toward change, and outlines recommendations for Advocacy and Action in the areas of "Healing and Reconciliation," "Peace With Justice," and "New Directions for US policy." Recommendations 3, 4, and 5 which follow are in line with the Policy Statement.
3. Participate in the ecumenical effort of the World Council of Churches (WCC) and NCCCUSA to facilitate the reunion of separated Korean families, including Korean residents in the US and their family members in the DPRK.

4. Urge all governments which have relations with the ROK or the DPRK or both to exercise their influence to further mediation, interchange, peace, and reunification.
5. Urge the US Government to forthright commitment to the following policy directions in support of Korean efforts for peace and reunification:
  - a) The peaceful reunification of Korea should be a formal US policy goal;
  - b) The US should extricate itself from a commanding role with the ROK military and the UN peacekeeping operation at the Demilitarized Zone and undertake efforts to facilitate the peacemaking role of the United Nations;
  - c) DPRK and ROK contacts should be encouraged;
  - d) Diplomatic and human contacts between the US and North Korea (DPRK) should be enhanced;
  - e) Support should be given to efforts to reduce military tension on the Korean peninsula by such steps as: pressing for the negotiated withdrawal of all US nuclear weapons in Korea and all US and USSR nuclear weapons targeted on Korea; suspending or substantially reducing the scale of military exercises in Korea; calling for a mutually negotiated and verifiable reduction of military forces and weaponry, including a phased withdrawal of forces from South Korea.
  - f) The US should negotiate to end the war and to seek a comprehensive peace settlement in Korea.
6. Call on governments, churches and other groups to support the struggle of the people of Korea for human rights and democracy by:
  - a) Making efforts to lessen the international climate of polarization, hostility and fear of war that leads to political repression, imprisonment, torture, and the militarization of society;
  - b) Encouraging dialogue and reconciliation among parties, regions, and classes to resolve long held grievances and prejudices for the sake of a just, inclusive society;
  - c) Emphasizing the importance of open social institutions, including freedom for press, political, academic, religious, and cultural activities, in order to build a strong, unified Korea;
  - d) Supporting international economic relations with Korea that enhance economic justice for workers, farmers, and small businesses and that protect the environment.
7. Encourage United Methodists to use the occasion of the 1988 Olympics and other opportunities for visitation and interchange to come to a deeper understanding of the Korean situation, the witness of the church, and the achievements, aspirations and contributions of Korean people in Korea and in various parts of the world, including the US.



**CHRISTIAN  
CHURCH**  
(Disciples of Christ)



222 S. Downey  
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**No. 8761**

**RESOLUTION CONCERNING PEACE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA**

WHEREAS, the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) at St. Louis in October 1979 adopted Resolution 7933 "Concerning North and South Korea," which recognized that "in both North and South Korea suffering is widespread due to violations of human rights and hardship is imposed on the people by the continuing division of the country, the separation of families, and the constant fear of war, and it is in the interest of all nations that the basis of a just and lasting peace be laid in Northeast Asia" and recommended that the President of the United States be urged "to favor steps toward the reunification of Korea as an objective of U.S. foreign policy;...to initiate a process leading to cooperation and dialogue with the government of North Korea for the peace and welfare of all the people of Korea;"

WHEREAS, the Governing Board of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. voted on November 6, 1986, to adopt the policy statement "Peace and the Reunification of Korea," whose preparation involved extensive discussions with government and Christian leaders in both North and South Korea as well as with United States Government officials;

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that the General Assembly of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) meeting in Louisville, Kentucky, October 16-21, 1987, call upon the congregations, regions, and general units of the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) to study the policy statement of the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A. "Peace and The Reunification of Korea" of November 6, 1986, and to consider it as a basis for prayer and possible action on issues related to peace and the reunification of Korea.

(A resume of the policy statement appears below. Full copies of the policy are available in the General Assembly at the Division of Overseas Ministries' Exhibit Booth, or from the Division of Overseas Ministries, Box 1986, Indpls., IN.)

**PEACE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA**  
**NCC-USA Policy Statement**

All Koreans desire restoration of the national unity which was theirs for more than a thousand years before 1945. Since then they have experienced division and war between two hostile and heavily armed states linked to the United States-Soviet Union global confrontation. The U.S. has a special obligation to hear their cry for unity, and important opportunities to respond. A major humanitarian concern has been the 10 million persons in families divided permanently and absolutely by the demarcation line.

1. The Christian ministry of healing, reconciliation and hope
2. The threat of division to world peace
3. New signs of hope
4. Contributing to a world-wide ecumenical endeavor
5. A focus on tension and conflict
6. Conflict end division
7. Christian witness and reconciliation
8. Christian responsibility in the United States

**ADVOCACY AND ACTION**

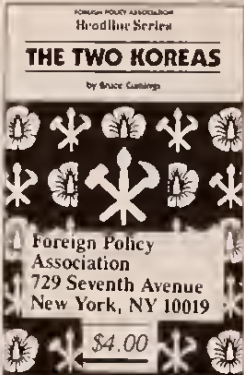

1. Healing and Reconciliation
2. Peace with Justice

initiatives are proposed for the U. S. Government to negotiate with all concerned powers to reduce all military action, forces and arms (including nuclear) related to the Korean Peninsula.

3. New Directions for U. S. Policy

The peaceful reunification of Korea should be a formal U. S. policy goal; diplomatic and human contacts between the U. S. and North Korea (DPRK) should be enhanced; DPRK and South Korea (ROK) contacts should be encouraged by extricating the U. S. from a commanding role with the (ROK) military, and by steps to facilitate the peacekeeping role of the United Nations; the U. S. should negotiate to end the war and to seek a comprehensive peace settlement in Korea.

## RECOMMENDED STUDY MATERIALS

<p><b>BACKGROUND</b> commission of the churches on international affairs 1985/1</p> <p><b>INFORMATION</b></p> <p><b>PEACE &amp; JUSTICE</b> IN <b>NORTH EAST ASIA</b></p> <p>PROSPECTS FOR PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF CONFLICTS</p> <p>Findings, Recommendations and Papers of a CCIA/WCC Consultation</p> <p>Tozanso International Center near Tokyo, Japan 29 October - 2 November 1984</p> <p>Commission of the Churches on International Affairs World Council of Churches</p> <p><b>UN Headquarters Liaison Office</b></p> <p>777 United Nations Plaza New York, N.Y. 10017      \$3.00</p>	<p><b>The Two Koreas</b> by Bruce Cumings, East Asia expert and professor at the University of Washington who won the American Historical Association's John Fairbank Award in 1983.</p> <p>Professor Cumings examines the history of this ancient nation. He analyzes its colonial past, the Korean War and its aftermath, and the current economic and political systems of North and South Korea.</p>  <p>Foreign Policy Association 729 Seventh Avenue New York, NY 10019</p> <p>\$4.00</p>	 <p>Edited by JOHN SULLIVAN AND ROBERTA FOSS</p> <p>UNIVERSITY PRESS OF AMERICA      AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE</p> <p>Chapter:      Paperback \$11.50 plus postage</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Introduction Bruce Cumings</li> <li>2. The Division of Korea Bruce Cumings</li> <li>3. The Economies of North and South Korea Jon Holliday</li> <li>4. The Military Situation on the Korean Peninsula Stephen Goose</li> <li>5. The Politics of Korea Gregory Henderson</li> <li>6. The Major Powers and the Korean Triangle Byung J. Kim</li> <li>7. Korea Today, Korea Tomorrow—A Korean Perspective Kunghwan Chinn</li> <li>8. AFSC Perspectives on Korea</li> </ol> <p>Order from Program Resources American Friends Service Committee 1501 Cherry Street Philadelphia, PA 19102</p>
<p>Volume 6, No. 2      December, 1986</p> <p><b>KOREA SCOPE</b></p> <p>ICNDK P.O. Box 904 New York, NY 10027</p> <p>\$3.75</p>	<p><b>Special Issue on Reunification</b></p> <p>The Tozanso Process An Ecumenical Contribution to the Struggle for Peace and Justice in North-East Asia . . . . .</p> <p>The Korean Issue and the Role of the Churches . . . . .</p> <p>The Geopolitical Context of the Korean Peninsula . . . . .</p> <p>Penitence for Peace Toward a Theology of Reunification . . . . .</p>	

### READING LIST

- Baldwin, Frank, ed., *Without Parallel: The American-Korean Relationship Since 1945*. New York, Pantheon Books, 1974. Critical and insightful essays on a number of postwar issues, including the UN and Korea, the ROK economy, and the failure of democracy in South Korea.
- Cumings, Bruce, *The Origins of the Korean War. Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1981.
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### CONGRESSIONAL TESTIMONY

- "North-South Relations on the Korean Peninsula", Hearing before the subcommittee on Asian and Pacific Affairs, Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, March 20, 1984. Witnesses include William E. Gleysteen, former Ambassador to ROK; Ralph H. Clough, Johns Hopkins University; Chong-Sik Lee, University of Pennsylvania; John C. Hanjo, U.S. Department of State.
- "The Korean Communion - A Conversation with Kim Il Sung", Report of a Study Mission to South Korea, Japan, The People's Republic of China and North Korea, July 12-21, 1980. Presented by representative Stephen J. Solarz to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, August 1981.

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Baldwin, Frank, ed. *Without Parallel: The American Korean Relationship Since 1945*. Pantheon Books. 1974. \$3.95.

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**KOREA SCOPE**

December 1986: Special Issue: on Reunification; \$3.75

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O'Le, Dorothy. "A Visit to North Korea," reprinted from *New World Outlook*, February 1985. \$.25.

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**RECOMMENDED AUDIO-VISUALS**

**"LIFTING THE BLACKOUT ON NORTH KOREA"**

10-minute VHS sample of a video documentary based on a Visit to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in June 1987, sponsored by the Committee for a New Korea Policy. Future 1 hour documentary to be available 1988

Includes footage of:

- everyday life
- the Children's Palace in Pyongyang
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Sample of work-in-progress

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**"HOMES APART: THE TWO KOREAS"**

One Hour Documentary Film  
To be available spring 1988

For information write to:  
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335 West 38th Street, 5th Floor  
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"Homes Apart: The Two Koreas", a documentary in production looks at Korean families separated since the Korean war to examine the division of Korea and the tense relations between south and north Korea. Filming has now been completed in the south and north.

## AN INVITATION TO RESPOND

### INTERNATIONAL ECUMENICAL COOPERATION

Early in 1984 south Korean churches identified the reunification of Korea as a priority concern. At a conference on Peace and Justice in North East Asia they called for international ecumenical cooperation to mobilize support and establish favorable conditions for the Korean effort.

The National Council of Churches of Christ-USA responded to this request in the following ways:

- Sponsoring a North American Ecumenical Conference on Unification of Korea in 1985.
- Consulting with church and government leaders in north and south Korea in April and May of 1986.
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TO TELL US HOW YOU CAN HELP OR TO ORDER MORE COPIES OF THIS KOREA/UPDATE (\$3.00) OR THE NCCC-USA POLICY STATEMENT, PEACE AND THE REUNIFICATION OF KOREA (\$1.00) WRITE TO THE FOLLOWING ADDRESS

Dorothy Ogle  
Education and Advocacy Committee  
Peace and Reunification of Korea  
**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST** INTHEUSA  
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E.  
Washington, D.C. 20002  
Tel: (202) 544-2393



### YOUR HELP IS NEEDED!

Your help is needed to put **Peace and the Reunification of Korea** on the agenda of church groups, peace groups and civic organizations.

Encourage district, conferences and regional groups to have a workshop at an educational event or a leadership training event.

Give a program to a local group

Serve as a resource person for other groups.

Help arrange a speaking tour for interpreters.

Donate books to a group or library, take materials to meetings.

Help organize a network (or connect present network) to respond to future calls for support for legislation on a new U.S. Korea policy.

Make a donation to help provide materials for distribution. (Make checks payable to NCCC-USA)

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The materials in this KOREA/UPDATE were compiled by Dorothy Ogle, NCCC-USA Staff Associate for Education and Advocacy for Peace and the Reunification of Korea. Before joining the NCCC staff Mrs. Ogle worked with the North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea. From 1960-1975 Mrs. Ogle was a United Methodist missionary in south Korea, and in 1984 she visited north Korea as a member of the American Friends Service Committee peace delegation.

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The North American Coalition for Human Rights in Korea brings together people and organizations actively supporting human rights and the restoration of democracy in Korea. The Coalition gathers, analyzes, and disseminates information on political, economic and social conditions in Korea, seeks to influence U.S. economic and military policy towards Korea, and mobilizes the North American people to aid those Koreans who suffer from human rights abuses. Among the approximately 40 organizations the Coalition represents and serves are the National Council of Churches in the U.S.A., the U.S. Catholic Conference, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ), Church Women United, Maryknoll Fathers and Brothers, the Presbyterian Church U.S.A., the Episcopal Church, the United Church of Canada, the United Church of Christ, Columban Fathers, the United Methodist Church, and various local and regional human rights organizations.

Kim Chai-choon, Honorary Chairperson • Peggy Billings, Chairperson • Pharis Harvey, Executive Director

Advisers: Bruce Cumings, Donald M. Fraser, J. Brian Hehr, Gregory Henderson, George Ogle, Donald Ranard, John Salzburg

North American Coalition  
for Human Rights in

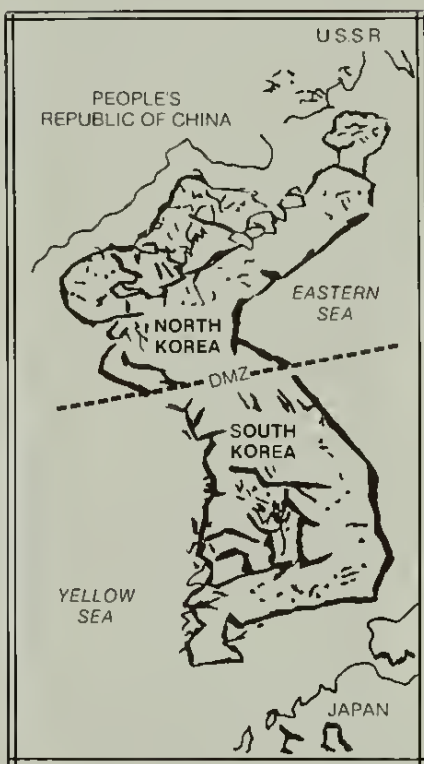
# KOREA

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**NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE  
CHURCHES OF CHRIST** IN THE U.S.A.



THE WASHINGTON OFFICE  
110 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002

# WHY DO KOREANS SEEK REUNIFICATION?

**Koreans are a homogeneous people** whose unity is deeply rooted in common language, tradition, culture and history. They had no part in the division of their country. Korea was divided at the end of WWII by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. No matter how great the obstacles, Koreans will continue their struggle to overcome the division that was imposed on them by outside powers.

## Effects of the Division

**Ten million family members were separated from each other when Korea was divided.** The division is so complete that they do not even know if their parents, children, spouse or siblings on the other side are living or dead.

**The division of Korea was intolerable to Koreans north and south.** Discussions ensued for unification until the division was formalized in 1948. In 1950 both sides felt the peninsula could be reunited by force. After a three year civil war the country was left devastated, more completely divided than before.

**The division of the country has resulted in repression in the name of national security.** People have not been permitted to know the truth about life on the other side. Individuals or groups concerned about reconciliation have discussed the issue at the risk of imprisonment.

## Current Realities

**One and a half million soldiers face each other across a 155 mile line that divides the peninsula.** Both sides are armed with the most modern of weapons including U.S. nuclear weapons deployed in the south. An accident, a miscalculation, or a foolish gesture by one side or the other could trigger a global nuclear war.

**Over 40,000 U.S. troops are in south Korea. The R.O.K./U.S. military joint command is headed by a U.S. general.** Each year U.S. and south Korean troops carry out massive military exercises called Team Spirit.

**Thirty-four years after the truce there is no peace treaty.** Neither the south nor the U.S. has any trade or diplomatic relations with north Korea.

**Anti-Americanism in south Korea is increasing** as more and more Koreans hold the U.S. responsible for creating and perpetuating the division of their country and for supporting the military dictator.

## Signs of Hope

**In 1985 a limited number of south Korean and north Korean separated family members were able to cross the Demilitarized Zone, for a brief meeting.**

**In 1986 Christians from north and south were able to meet in Glion, Switzerland.**

**Over a thousand Korean-Americans have visited their families in north Korea.** In addition selected U.S. scholars, journalists, government officials, church and peace groups have been allowed to visit the D.P.R.K. Requests for U.S. visas for north Koreans have been denied with the exception of three scholars in 1985. NCCC-USA would like to assist separated family members in locating each other and will continue to urge the U.S. State Department to permit visits of north Koreans to the U.S.

**The NCCC-USA Policy Statement-Peace and the Reunification of Korea calls for new directions in U.S. policy** which include specific steps "to reduce tension in the North East Asia region to prevent a renewed outbreak of war and to create a climate favorable for reunification . . ."

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

Tel. \_\_\_\_\_

I would like help in seeking information about family members in Korea.

**Please send me the following:**  
(Make checks payable to NCCC-USA)

\_\_\_\_ copies of this flyer (10¢ ea.; discounts for bulk orders)

\_\_\_\_ copies of the NCCC-USA Policy Statement on *Peace and the Reunification of Korea* (\$1.00 ea.)

\_\_\_\_ *Korea Update - Special Issue on Peace and Reunification of Korea.* 84 pages History of the Division, Costs of the Division, Signs of Hope, Statements by Koreans, New Directions for U.S. Policy, Theological Foundations, NCCC-USA Policy Statement. (\$3.00 plus postage)

\_\_\_\_ *Korea Scope - Special Issue on Reunification.* (\$3.50)

**When available please send me information about the following:**

Family reunion project

Study guide

Worship resources

Extended bibliography

List of resource persons in my area

Audio-Visual materials

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Your help is needed to put **Peace and the Reunification of Korea** on the agenda of church groups, peace groups and civic organizations. Please tell us what you are willing to do.

I would be willing to do the following:

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- Give a program to my local group.
- Serve as a resource person for other groups.
- Help arrange a speaking tour for interpreters.
- Donate books to a group or library, take materials to meetings I attend, or enclose these flyers in a mailing of our church or organization.
- Help organize a network (or connect present network) to respond to future calls for support for legislation on a new U.S. Korea policy.
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## INTERNATIONAL ECUMENICAL COOPERATION

Early in 1984 south Korean churches identified the reunification of Korea as a priority concern. At a conference on Peace and Justice in North East Asia they called for international ecumenical cooperation to mobilize support and establish favorable conditions for the Korean effort.

The National Council of Churches of Christ-USA responded to this request in the following ways:

- Sponsoring a North American Ecumenical Conference on Unification of Korea in 1985.
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feel that we have second-  
children now.  
I understand Mrs. Plummer's long-  
ing to experience pregnancy and birth,  
but hope she is not, at the same time,

and this na-  
ED E. SCHERMERHORN  
e Senator, 39th District  
Albany, March 12, 1987

## Still Time for Negotiation in South Korea

To the Editor:

NYT 3/28/87  
Edward W. Poitras, who teaches at the Methodist Theological Seminary in Seoul, has not simply issued a stinging rebuke of the Government of President Chun Doo Hwan ("In South Korea, a Smoking Volcano," Op-Ed, Feb. 23). But he and his Methodist mission in South Korea would seem also to have taken the position that meaningful relations with all but the opposition are a thing of the past.

Mr. Poitras says: "The legitimacy of the Government has never been established despite attempts to prove respectability through elections." At the same time, he is very sure of the "legitimate demands of the opposition." He speaks of the "hypocrisy of the regime's advocacy of reasonable discussion" and insists that Washington must become involved in "the voting out of the present regime."

What Mr. Poitras has not said is that elections will be held on schedule next year in South Korea, and while it is true that the majority party and opposition are at present stalemated on some issues, both sides recognize the need to continue negotiations.

Nor is this fundamental fact changed by the recent, tragic death of the student Park Jung Chul. How hasty, then, for an outsider to conclude that further discussion between the two parties is useless, that it is time to call in Washington to sweep the ruling party out of power.

This call for immediate intervention by Washington and the rejection of all further discussion is a far cry from a century ago, when foreign missions were just beginning in Korea, and missionaries were glad just to have a foot in the door of the "hermit kingdom." Reading the early annals, we find these missionaries, Methodists included, content at first just to practice medicine and perform works of mercy — all with the hope of eventually being allowed to teach the gospel in this land.

We can only hope that the Korean people, particularly those who still

hope and believe in the principle of reconciliation — as opposed to confrontation and outside intervention — will understand that Mr. Poitras's call for Washington to step in does not flow from the Christian gospel. Otherwise, not only might we see an anti-missionary spirit, but also a strongly anti-American sentiment setting in. This would be a tragedy of untold proportions.

ROBERT S. RAPP  
Seoul, March 2, 1987

*The writer is president of the Korea Presbyterian Theological Seminary.*

## Translating the Bible

To the Editor:

I very much enjoyed your March 1 article on the translation of the Bible into Gullah, the mother tongue of the Southeast United States coastal islands. It held special meaning for me, as I recently returned from living in the Seychelles Islands, where a Bible translation is progressing. Like Gullah, Seychelles Creole is a mix, in this case of French and African tongues, blended during the slavery era. And like Gullah speakers, most Seychellois understand English or French. Nonetheless, having the Scriptures in their mother tongue has enriched the spiritual lives of Seychellois and eliminated a barrier in their understanding of their faith.

Fortunately for us English speakers, clear modern English translations of the Bible have existed for some time. Why, then, do you continue to quote from the King James version? I found the Parable of the Lost Sheep you quote from the King James only slightly more comprehensible than the Gullah version. I recommend either the revised standard version, which has been used by most American denominations for much of this century, or the new international version, which is now the leading seller.

JOHN THAYER  
Cambridge, Mass., March 4, 1987